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The story of Pylades, idol of the Roman Empire, a dancer who started a craze rivalling that of the modern radio crooner or moving picture star.

Portrait of a Dancer

by Lillian B. Lawler

AT some time during the last century before the beginning of the Christian era, there was born in the remote village of Mestarnae, in Cilicia (Suidas, s. v. Pylades), now southern Turkey, a boy who was destined to rise from complete obscurity to the fellowship of princes. It was to be his lot to invent a form of entertainment, a new kind of dance, which should sweep through the world like wildfire and remain the most popular feature of the theater until the Dark Ages settled down over the dying Roman Empire.

We know this dancer only as Pylades. Whether this was his real name (Cilicia was primarily Greek, and a name drawn from classical mythology would not be an anomaly

even in a humble family), or whether it was assumed as a *nom de théâtre*, we have no way of determining. In the third century B. C. there had been a famous actor of the same name, whose epitaph, by Alcaeus of Messene, is still extant (*Anth. Pal.* 6. 412). It is quite possible that our Pylades adopted the name of this distinguished predecessor. At any rate, the renown of the Cilician Pylades became so great that the name soon was practically a synonym for achievement in his field; and later artists adopted it, generation after generation, hoping to acquire thereby some of his genius and popularity.

The date of the birth of the dancer Pylades is not recorded. He seems to have launched his new dance form in about 22 B. C., and he was at the height of his career in 18 B. C. (*Dio Cass.* 54. 17. 4). In 2 B. C. he financed an elaborate festival, but did not perform in it because he was *hypergeros* (*Dio Cass.* 55. 10. 11). This word is usually translated "extremely old," and in most connotations it does mean just that. However, it would be inconceivable that a dancer would be in a state of senile decay only twenty years after beginning his career. Most dancers today make their professional debuts while in their teens, and retire from active dancing at about thirty. Even assuming that Pylades started upon his new type of dance when he was as old as thirty (which is highly unlikely), he would still be

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In addition to her editorial work, Miss Lawler has taken an active interest in the American Classical League, and has contributed much to the success of its Service Bureau. Her invaluable manual on the Latin Club is widely used by teachers. And as her story of Pylades indicates, she is the outstanding authority on the dances of the classical period.

but fifty years of age in 2 B. C. I believe that the word *hypergeros* in this connection merely denotes "over age"—i.e., for active dancing; and I believe that in 2 B. C. Pylades was somewhere between forty and fifty years old. That would place his birthdate between 52 and 42 B. C. It is intriguing to conjecture that he may actually have been born while Cicero was governing Cilicia as proconsul—i.e., between 52 and 49 B. C., with the latter date the more likely.

Early Training

OF THE boyhood and youth of Pylades we have no direct knowledge. He must have been of servile extraction, for later he seems to have been a freedman of Augustus. From the accounts of his skill which have come down to us, we may be sure that he began his professional training at a very early age. He was blessed with a beautiful body (his breath-taking appearance in later life is well attested); to develop it to its full glory of suppleness and strength must have taken years of rigorous training and abstemious living. It is probable that he was trained both as a tragic actor and as a dancer. The two careers were at that time distinct; but the elaborate code of gestures known collectively as *cheironomia* was common to both. Of these gestures, amounting almost to a sort of sign language, Pylades became a master. Athletic sports must also have had a part in his training; Lucian (*Orch.* 78) emphasizes the importance of boxing and wrestling in the development of a dancer.

Evidently the young man was more deeply impressed with his studies in tragedy than with his training in the dance. However, in the world about him the appeal of Greek tragedy was rapidly lessening—so much so that it looked as if the great themes of mythology were to pass from the stage altogether. Accordingly Pylades (or his master for him) seems to have turned his attention to dancing rather than to acting.

As we have already noted, Pylades appears upon the historical scene in 22 B. C. We are told (Suetonius, frag., Roth. p. 301; Zosimus 1. 6. 1) that in that year he and another dancer, Bathyllus of Alexandria, a freedman

and favorite of Maecenas, astonished the world with a new kind of entertainment—a combination of drama and the dance. Whether the two planned their innovation together, or whether they came upon similar forms independently, or whether one imitated the other, we do not know. We do not even know in what city they evolved their ideas, but it was probably in Rome. Certainly they achieved their greatest triumphs in that city. From the first, Pylades was the dominant figure of the two. He confined himself to plots from tragedy and, to a lesser extent, history, while the work of Bathyllus was more closely akin to comedy—i.e., it probably was a burlesque of mythological and tragic themes.

The new art was immediately successful—almost sensationally so, in fact. The two "inventors" rapidly developed and improved it, and imitators arose in great numbers. In time the genre came to be known as *Italikē orchēsis*, *Italica saltatio*; and the performers were called *pantomimi*.

A New Spectacle

THE NEW spectacle was unlike anything which the classical world had ever beheld. The audience assembled in a theater the stage of which was set with elaborate scenery. The performance began with music—but not the music of the lone flute of tragedy, so familiar to the Greeks and Romans. Pylades had substituted an orchestra which must have been completely overwhelming to his audience—a combination of Pan-pipes, lyres, cymbals, tympana, and the wood-and-iron percussion instrument operated by the foot, and called the *scabellum*. (Not many years later the Egyptian sistrum was to be added to the instruments of the orchestra.) After the introductory music, a prologist (*praeco*—Augustine, *De doct. Christ.* 2. 25. 38) came forward, and summarized briefly the story which was to be enacted. When he had finished, the chorus, reduced now to an off-stage choir, began to sing; and then, with a flourish, the *pantomimus* appeared, resplendent in a flowing robe of silk embroidered with gold and jewels, a swirling cloak, and a great mask

with closed mouth. Making use of the old Greek art of *cheironomia*, "speaking gestures," and displaying all the intoxicating grace and suppleness, agility and strength and virtuosity for which he was famous, the great dancer acted, rhythmically, a scene from an ancient myth. In it, he assumed one part, as a rule; but so great was his skill that he suggested other characters, simultaneously. With a twist of his long cloak, we are told, he could portray "a swan's tail, the tresses of Venus, a Fury's scourge" (Fronto, Loeb, II, p. 104). He leaped and crouched, twisted and turned, performed dazzling feats of balance (Galen 6. 155; Lucian, *Orch.* 71; Libanius, *Orch.* 68-69), halted in poses of statuesque beauty (Libanius, *Orch.* 118). At the end of the scene, the dancer withdrew. During a short musical and choral interlude he changed costume and mask, to reappear as another character in the next scene of the mythological story. This was repeated four or five times, until the whole of the legend was unfolded. The performance closed in a final burst of music, and a tumult of applause.

Effect on Audience

MODERN parallels suggest themselves at once—the "one-woman plays" of Cornelia Otis Skinner, the fantasies of the Chinese stage, even the skits of "quick-change artists" in vaudeville. The performance of the *pantomimus* was like all of these, yet unlike them, too. It was highly stylized and artificial, and it deliberately avoided realism. To watch the performance understandingly seems to have required a considerable amount of imagination on the part of the spectators. Yet with all these apparent defects the dance-drama was immensely popular. The effect upon the audience was unbelievably powerful. Repeatedly eye-witnesses speak of the dancer as appearing to be more than human, the actual incarnation of a divinity. Sophisticated Roman nobles hung breathless upon his every movement, and impressionable women screamed and swooned, even as they do today when watching and listening to popular crooners.

Bathyllus habitually made use of light,

happy themes, suited to his delicate, voluptuous style of dancing, and he favored feminine roles. Pylades, on the other hand, adhered to the "grand style." Ancient commentators say that his art was dignified, solemn, inspiring, deeply moving (Athenaeus I. 20; Plutarch, *Quaest. Conv.* 7. 711 F). He portrayed the gods and heroes of ancient tragedy—their loves and hates, their sorrows, transformations, deaths. His repertoire seems to have been tremendous. His dance, we are told, was directly inspired by the old *emmeleia*, solemn dance of tragedy. In his performances, the *emmeleia* seemed to develop naturally, to go on to a fuller expressiveness, a greater subtlety, a newer significance. In time, the style of Pylades prevailed as the norm for the pantomimic dance, and the lighter style of Bathyllus disappeared. In a very real sense, Pylades saved the plots of Greek tragedy for the theater. From our point of view, that would seem to be his greatest contribution; but we are told (Macrobius, *Sat.* 2. 7) that when the emperor Augustus asked him what he considered his most important service to his art, he replied that it had been his augmentation of the musical accompaniment, with "the sound of flutes and pipes, and the voices of men," as he phrased it, quoting from the *Iliad* (10. 13).

Hercules a Favorite Role

PYLADES' outstanding roles were those of Dionysus and the maddened Hercules. In the former, he actually seemed to be the god incarnate (*Anth. Plan.* 290); so divine was he, says the epigrammatist Boethus (*Anth. Pal.* 9. 248), that if Hera could have seen him she would have laid aside her jealousy, and claimed that he was her own son, not Semele's! The Hercules role was a favorite of the dancer himself, but some of his audiences seem to have felt that in it he was a trifle too "mad." On one occasion a spectator remarked audibly that this Hercules did not walk properly; whereupon the fiery-tempered dancer pulled off his mask, threw it violently on the stage, bellowed, "You fools, I am dancing a madman!" and shot arrows at the offending spectator (Macrobius, *Sat.* 2. 7). That the

characterization must really have been excellent is attested by the fact that the emperor Augustus enjoyed a "command performance" of it in his own triclinium.

Pylades and Bathyllus became the rage of polite society. Freedmen though they were, they were lionized and fawned upon. Like Hollywood celebrities two thousand years later, they hobnobbed with royalty, and even had some political power. Apparently the smaller cities of Italy clamored for a glimpse of them. An extant inscription (CIL 10. 1074) attests that Pylades, at least, "went on tour" to Pompeii; presumably he visited other towns as well. Both of the great dancers opened schools; but the school of Pylades far eclipsed that of Bathyllus. Pupils flocked in—even members of the Roman nobility aspired to be pantomimic dancers! Soon the two humble Greeks held the great Roman Empire in the hollow of their hands.

Formal Contests Unlikely

APPARENTLY there were no regular contests in the new dance form, as there had been in tragedy and comedy in ancient Athens. We do read (Quintilian 6. 3. 65) of one informal contest, in the days of Augustus, between two pantomimic dancers "qui alternis gestibus contendeabant." The emperor himself is said to have remarked that, of the two, one was a *saltator*, the other merely an *interpolator*—one danced, the other interrupted! This remark would imply that the two contenders were not the great artists, Pylades and Bathyllus. Two centuries later, Lucian specifically says (*Orch.* 32) that pantomimic dancing was not included in the public competitions, as being too high and solemn for criticism. He does say that one Italian city had a dancing competition; but we may safely assume that the dance of the pantomimes was not included in it.¹ The late writer Nonnus, in his *Dionysiaca* (19. 133-282), portrays a pantomimic contest between two followers of Dionysus, the general outlines of which must have been suggested to the author by an actual contest which he had seen; but Nonnus was writing some five hundred years after the time of Pylades.

Contests or no contests, however, rivalries inevitably developed between the great masters of the new dance form; and in these the public soon began to take a noisy part. Before long, the very appearance on the streets of one or the other of the leading dancers was a signal for rioting and bloodshed. Augustus watched the situation with rising displeasure; and Rome awoke one morning to discover that the stormy Pylades had been banished from Italy. The exile of the freedman dancer did not cause nearly so much stir as did that of the freeborn poet Ovid, some twenty-five or twenty-six years later, but there were similarities in the two cases. Quite evidently the emperor was acting in both instances under the apprehension (symptomatic of all dictators) that he must supervise and censor other people's conduct. Also, the real reason for the exile was in both cases withheld from the public. Pylades was banished, say various writers, either (1) because of his rivalry with Bathyllus (Dio Cassius 54. 17. 5); or (2) because of his rivalry with Hylas, his most outstanding pupil (Macrobius, *Sat.* 2. 7. 19); or (3) *diastasin* (Dio Cassius 54. 17. 4-5)—an ambiguous phrase, which could imply "on account of sedition" against the emperor, or merely "on account of his faction"; or (4) because on one occasion when a noble spectator dared to hiss him in the theater, Pylades "thrust his third finger" at him—a gesture somewhat akin to "thumbing the nose" in the modern code of deprecation (Suetonius, *Aug.* 45). I have always been inclined to believe that the "suspicion of sedition" explanation may have been the real one. Pylades was certainly an independent thinker; and as a Greek he would naturally come by a love of freedom and a hatred of dictatorship. It may be that Augustus was displeased with some emphasis upon the ideals of freedom and democracy in Pylades' dancing, rather than with the rioting of his partisans and those of Bathyllus. At any rate, when the emperor later expostulated with the uncowed dancer for squabbling with his rivals, Pylades replied fearlessly (Dio Cassius 54. 17. 5; Macrobius, *Sat.* 2. 7) that the emperor was ungrateful—that it was in

fact advantageous for a dictator to have dancers quarreling in the city, so as to keep the people's minds off politics!

We do not know where Pylades spent his exile. It is entirely possible that he simply went on a lucrative tour of provincial towns! In 18 B. C. he was recalled, apparently by popular demand. He seems to have been restored to imperial favor; and the renewed and unchecked street riots which ensued would indicate that Augustus took to heart his shrewd, if ironic, political advice.

Colorful Personality

THROUGHOUT his life, Pylades seems to have been a very colorful personality. In spite of his lowly birth and social standing, he feared no one, from the emperor down; and his retorts, some sharp, some pithy, some witty, became famous. He seems to have been impatient, temperamental, and explosive, but his artistic standards were high, and he never compromised where they were concerned. For a spectator who failed to appreciate his work he had nothing but scorn, vigorously expressed. He stooped to a practical joke now and then. On one occasion when a crowd demanded that he dance for them, then and there, he responded by sitting absolutely still, as if pondering; asked for an explanation, he replied that he was portraying a great general thinking out a campaign! (Macrobius, *Sat.* 2. 7).

Pylades as a Teacher

HE WAS a rigorous and effective teacher, brutally frank in his criticisms of his students. The Carian Hylas, his most famous pupil, who later rivaled Pylades himself in popularity, seems to have been a frequent victim of his ready tongue. Once, we are told, when Hylas rose on tiptoe to express the idea "great Agamamnon," Pylades shouted, "That is 'tall Agamamnon,' not 'great!'" On another occasion, when Hylas was dancing the character of the blinded Oedipus, Pylades cried out, "But you walk as if you could see!" (Macrobius, *Sat.* 2. 7). Although *pantomimi* in general soon came to be regarded as an immoral lot, and frequently were accused of

corrupting public morals with their seductive rhythms, no scandal has touched the name of Pylades. Hylas, on the other hand, was publicly scourged in the atrium of his own house (Suetonius, *Aug.* 45); and even Bathylus' reputation was not above reproach.

The Wealth of Pantomimists

LIKE ALL famous *pantomimi*, Pylades seems to have become immensely wealthy. We hear of the purchase of "scripts" for dance-dramas (*fabulae salticae*) from reputable authors at high prices (Juvenal 7. 87-97), in the Hollywood manner. Pliny the Elder (7. 39, 40, 128) speaks of performers' salaries that amounted to 500,000 sesterces a year and over—\$25,000 in money value, with a purchasing power of some ten times that amount. Seneca (*Ad Helv.* 12. 6) mentions dowries of a million sesterces (\$50,000) as not uncommon among women pantomimic dancers. Later, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, it became necessary to put a "ceiling" on dancers' salaries and on production costs for their dance-dramas (*Script. Hist. Aug., Marcus Aurelius* 11. 4). We have already noted the fact that in 2 B. C. Pylades, retired and wealthy, assumed the full expense of a sumptuous public festival in which a large number of dancers performed.

A Manual for Dancers

WE ARE quite familiar today with popular books on tennis by tennis champions, on diving by Olympic divers, and on the art of the dance by famous dancers. Accordingly it does not strike us as odd that Pylades now turned his hand to a treatise on the dance. The work itself, unfortunately, is lost. However, an essay on the same subject (*Peri Orchēseōs*), written in the second century of the Christian era, is still extant. The essay is attributed to Lucian, but some scholars have doubted the authenticity of this attribution. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the work is actually in some degree the treatise of Pylades, "modernized" and impersonalized by Lucian or one of his contemporaries. Such adaptations of the works of earlier authors are, of course, quite common in Greek and Roman literature. However,

even if the later treatise is genuinely by Lucian (throughout this paper it is cited as his work), there can be no doubt but that Lucian made use of Pylades' book. To a lesser extent, Libanius' rhetorical treatise, *Hyper tōn Orchēstōn*, written in the fourth century and also still extant, must have been influenced by it.

The Art of the Dance

FROM these essays, and from what we know of Pylades himself, we can conjecture something of the nature of his book. Like Lucian's work, it was probably a dialogue, the usual form for a Greek or Roman treatise. It must have treated of the origins of the dance, of the functions of the dance, and of the author's philosophy of the dance, in the typical Greek manner. It must have emphasized particularly the sedate, dignified, highly polished type of dance which the author himself espoused. It certainly stressed the importance of grace and agility on the part of the dancer, as well as natural ability in the portrayal of character. It may have outlined a program of training, diet, and study for the prospective dancer. It must have contained sections on mythological and tragic themes appropriate to the dance, for the ideals of Pylades in this respect were, as we have seen, very high. It may have included specific information on the elaborate symbolism and convention which the author himself did so much to work out and establish for the pantomimic dance. Considerable attention may have been given to correct gestures and figures. Appropriate costumes and masks may have been discussed, and there may have been some remarks on scenery. There must have been some treatment of accompanying music, both vocal and instrumental. There may even have been included (as there is in the treatises of Lucian and Libanius) an attempted denial of the repeated charge that the pantomimic dance was seductive and had a bad moral effect upon spectators.² In style the work probably was brilliant and forceful, for remarks attributed to Pylades by other writers show a characteristic, rapier-like quickness

and directness. Whether Pylades' book was for the general public, or was primarily a textbook for his own pupils, we do not know; but it is likely that it was for the layman, and that it partook somewhat of the nature of the various treatises on music, on songs, on harmony, etc., which were so numerous and so popular in antiquity.

Another activity of modern celebrities—the endorsing or promoting of some product, diet, etc.—may actually have been a secondary consideration (and source of revenue) for the great pantomimic dancers. We have no specific mention of such activity on the part of Pylades; but in the days of Lucius Verus, the pantomimic dancer Paris was famous for an effective depilatory (Galen 12. 454).

Craze for Dancing

THE DANCE form which Bathyllus favored had disappeared by the second century; but that which Pylades had begun went on and on in the ensuing centuries, to unbelievable heights of popularity. Seneca (*Controv.* 3. praef. 10) speaks of the dance in his time as a veritable "craze"—*morbus*. Lucian (*Orch.* 79) tells us how rapt spectators sometimes sat for whole days in the pantomimic theaters, drinking in mythological spectacles. Rich families had private troops of dancers. Performers of any skill at all, both men and women, became immensely wealthy. Emperors fraternized with them, and accorded them special privileges. Caligula (Suetonius, *Caligula* 54) even performed as a *pantomimus* himself; and Nero is said to have put the dancer Paris to death either because he regarded him as a rival artist (Suetonius, *Nero* 54), or because Paris would not teach him his skill (Dio Cass. 63. 18. 1). Costumes and staging became incredibly sumptuous. Poems were set to pantomimic dancing (Ovid, *Trist.* 2. 519–520; 5. 7. 25–30); even ordinary orations (Tacitus, *Dial.* 26), panegyrics (Pliny, *Pan.* 54. 1), and philosophical treatises (Lucian, *Orch.* 35; Athenaeus 1. 20) were accompanied with rhythmic gesturing. One horribly perverted form of the dance appears in the time of Plutarch (*De sera num. vind.*

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554 B)—a performance in which Christian martyrs were forced to dance wearing "golden tunics and purple robes," which burst into flames, killing the dancers before the eyes of the spectators.

Meanwhile, the morals of the professional dancers sank lower and lower. Demetrius the Cynic, and Aelius Aristides the rhetorician, led violent attacks upon them; but Demetrius, won over by the efforts of the dancer Paris (Lucian, *Orch.* 63-64), at length abandoned his opposition. In the days of Libanius, dancers were held in such low esteem that that distinguished author plumes himself not a little upon his courage in daring to defend them in public! Ultimately the steadying influence of the Church made itself felt; and at some time in the sixth century, after a last defense by Choricus (*Apologia Mimorum*), the pantomimic dance, now too corrupt for redemption, passed into oblivion.³

Origin of Pylades' Dance Form

MUCH HAS been made, in this paper and elsewhere, of the originality of the dance forms of Pylades and Bathyllus. They were original, in a very real sense; but I believe it is possible to see in them elements which go back to remote antiquity. As a matter of fact, the pantomimic dance may be regarded as something of a reversion to an early stage of Greek drama—the one-actor phase, in which a single performer, with the aid of varying costumes and masks, portrayed a series of mythological characters. The great difference, of course, lies in the fact that the tragic actor spoke or sang, from early times, while the pantomimic dancer performed with gestures alone. There is, however, another connection which seems highly significant. It will be re-

called that Bathyllus was an Egyptian Greek—from Alexandria. One of our sources (Athenaeus 1. 20) associates his dance with that of the Egyptian city Memphis. Not long ago, in a paper entitled "Proteus Is a Dancer" (*Classical Weekly* 36 [1943] 116-117), I recalled Lucian's remark (*Orch.* 19), "The ancient Egyptian Proteus is nothing but a dancer," and set forth my belief that in the legend of Proteus, with his many changes of form, we have a combination of several elements; and that "one of those elements may well be, as Lucian suspected, an old ritual dance, perhaps to a sea or river divinity, in which a prominent individual, or a priest, or a priest-king, portrayed mimetically (and spectacularly) a sequence of ideas such as 'lion,' 'fire,' 'serpent,' 'water,' etc. This dance may have been developed spontaneously in many different parts of the ancient world. We know that such dances are common to all primitive races today. They are offered to divinities of all sorts, and they are invariably accompanied by an illusion of spiritual 'possession' or identification of the dancer with a god or with the animal or thing portrayed." Such a dance would go back to prehistoric times. Something like it may have been found in both Greece and Egypt, for the legend places Proteus now in Greece, now in Pharos or Memphis in Egypt. In Memphis, dancing was a feature of the cult of Ptah, and also of the famous Memphian mysteries. I should not be surprised, then, if the pantomimic dance of Pylades and Bathyllus had in it some elements which stemmed ultimately from a very old "Proteus" dance, which was either Greek or Egyptian or a combination of both. It is interesting to note, incidentally, that Libanius (*Orch.* 80) refers to Egypt as the "first parent" of the pantomimic dance.⁴

NOTES

¹ Lillian B. Lawler, "Orchēsis Iōnikē," *TAPA*, 74 (1943) 60-71, esp. 71.

² The work of Libanius is avowedly a refutation of an attack upon the dance by Aelius Aristides, a writer of the second century. Some scholars think that the treatise attributed to Lucian is a reply to this same attack.

³ For a good general discussion of the pantomimic dance see Ludwig Friedlaender, *Darstellungen aus der*

Sittengeschichte Roms, tenth edition, revised by Georg Wissowa (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1921-23), II, 125-135; also, Lucian, *Peri Orchēseōs*, and Libanius, *Hyper tōn Orchēstōn*.

⁴ Friedlaender (*op. cit.* [see note 3] 125) says that H. Bier, in his dissertation *De Saltatione Pantomimorum* (Bonn, 1920), ascribes an Egyptian origin to the pantomimic dance. The dissertation is inaccessible to me.

Strangers in ancient times were protected by Zeus
under universal laws of hospitality

By Oscar E. Nybakken

The Moral Basis of *Hospitium Privatum*

THE practice of guest-friendship (*xenia*, *hospitium*) was one of the more estimable virtues of both the Greeks and the Romans. At first, and in a restricted sense throughout its long history, *hospitium* signified the simple but sacred duty of every man to welcome and protect any stranger who might come to his house; later it became a formal agreement of mutual aid between two persons and their families; and finally, its scope increased so that it included agreements between an individual and a community and between states and nations, and as such became one of the earliest institutions of international character.

In its broader scope, therefore, *hospitium* had profound significance in the ancient social and political spheres. Literary and archaeological sources supply a considerable amount of information on the functions and far-reaching influences of *hospitium* in the sphere of legal actions and international politics, and several studies have been made on that broader public aspect of the subject (*proxenia*, or *hospitium publicum*).¹

In this treatise, however, the public phases of the institution will be touched on only briefly. We shall be concerned mainly with the private aspect of the convention in an attempt to ascertain the moral basis on which the practice in its simplest form rested. To that end, a very brief summary of the essential features of the institution seems desirable.

In the Homeric epics we find the practice of guest-friendship already fully established, and the distinguishing characteristics of the social convention are therein clearly and fully presented.² Numerous episodes in those poems make it clear that every man regarded it as his privilege and inviolable duty to receive and entertain any stranger who applied for hospitality. Such generous readiness in according courteous treatment to strangers

stands in striking contrast to the general ruthlessness of the Homeric Age. A stranger was almost always welcomed immediately upon arrival; to delay the welcome was a disgrace to the host. The guest was not even asked any questions regarding his identity or his mission until the host had provided for his physical needs and comfort.

During his stay, the guest was under the general protection of his host, who ministered to his needs and comforts and, in accordance with established custom, presented him with gifts, often of great value. The guest, in turn, considered it his moral obligation to present gifts and render similar friendly service to his host, or to anyone else, whenever application for hospitality was made to him. Providing such courteous hospitality and general services to a stranger had the effect of establishing between host and guest a tie of guest-friendship. This peculiar tie, although so easily and informally made, was, nevertheless, highly respected and was usually maintained by the contracting parties for a long period of time, even being often transmitted from father to son. An inherited guest-friendship tie was especially cherished and honored, but was by no means a prerequisite for hospitality. Although the episode³ where the Trojan Antenor tells of his entertaining the Greek ambassadors, Odysseus and Menelaus, supplies some evidence that the public aspect of guest-friendship had already begun to develop in Homer's time, it is the private and personal aspect of the institution that is of paramount importance in Homer.

A Private Agreement

As it appears in its fundamental and simple form in the Homeric poems, therefore, *hospitium* was a private agreement, entered into not by men as members of different bodies politic, but by men as individuals. *Hospitium*

did not postulate an organized state. However, after a state was organized, the practice could still continue to exist within it and even command its respect. This we find to be true both in Greek and in Roman history. Of course, like most other social institutions, guest-friendship did not remain altogether static in the ancient world, but responded to the many changing political and social necessities of those times. It expanded from a purely private institution to a public one, and among the Romans especially, it took on a juridical aspect. Nevertheless, in the private sphere the fundamental duties and conventions of *hospitium* were only slightly affected; in general, it continued to function in its traditional simple and informal manner. Abundant literary and inscriptional data⁴ are available to show that the mutual obligations and privileges of private guest-friendship were always held in high esteem by both the Greeks and the Romans. The lofty estimate and high regard which the people of those two nations had for the institution of *hospitium* can perhaps best be summarized in a phrase which appears frequently on Greek inscriptions⁵ dealing with guest-friendship, viz., *xenia ta megista ek tōn nomōn*, and in the words of Cicero, *amicum, quod apud homines clarissimum est, non hospitem quod sanctissimum est*.⁶ The last quotation, putting as it does a guest on a loftier plane than a friend, seems especially significant inasmuch as its author wrote a whole treatise setting forth the moral obligations and noble ideals of friendship.

Friendship and Faith

What, then, were the moral principles upon which private *hospitium* was based which enable it to command such high popular respect for many centuries? It is apparent from what has already been said that observance of the duties of guest-friendship could not have been enforced systematically by law; for private hospitality was extra-legal. It depended, therefore, for its effectiveness almost entirely on the element of moral appeal; that is, on an element of obligation derived from deeply rooted and widely accepted principles of divine and natural law. Very

briefly stated, the one indispensable condition upon which *hospitium* was established and maintained was *fides*; i.e., faith in man's word. It is obvious that a host, when welcoming a stranger into his house under the conditions previously described, had to have complete faith in the goodness of his guest's character and the honesty of his statements.

In Homer, no letter of introduction or token for identification purposes was required of the guest; and yet, very significantly, there is no hint that a host ever distrusted a stranger's statement regarding his identity. Man had complete confidence in another's, even a stranger's, word. Yet, in contracting the informal private agreement, there was very seldom an explicit guarantee of *fides*; most often it was merely implicit. But the contract was not for that reason ineffective: for wide general acknowledgement that *fides*, under natural law, was a prime obligation of all human beings who exercise right reason and are endowed with the moral faculty, imposed a powerful sanction and made the agreement effective. Thus, *pistis*, or *fides*, became the human virtue par excellence, and the one upon which maintenance of the practice of guest-friendship depended.

Moreover, *fides* was strongly supported by divine sanction. Indeed, so important was *fides* as a human attribute that the virtue was associated with Zeus, the highest and most august of the deities. Thus we find that among the Greeks, Zeus received the surname *Pistios* and always received high honors; and among the Romans, highest respect was shown their *Iuppiter Fidius*. Indeed, so essential did the Romans consider fidelity in all private, public, and international dealings that the human attribute was deified and *Fides* came to have a temple and cult of her own. And, as if to emphasize the importance of the new deity, her temple was built on the Capitoline next to the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.⁷ In the case of *fides*, therefore, the human and the divine sanctions were fused into one.

Guests Heaven-Protected

This close association of *fides* with Zeus makes the phrases *Zeus Xenios* and *Iuppiter*

Hospitalis, which recur so frequently in connection with guest-friendship, seem wholly appropriate. *Hospitium* was firmly linked with reverence for the gods, especially for Zeus,⁸ and guests and strangers were always under the protection of heaven. The person of the guest was considered sacred, and obedience to the holy obligation of hospitality toward him won for the host favor with the gods. On the other hand, any breach of the custom through neglect of, or injury to, the guest constituted an offence against the gods, and the offender was liable to heaven's vengeance. As a matter of fact, violation of the rules of *hospitium* was looked upon as the grossest of crimes, since in violating *fides*, both human and divine laws were broken.

Were Tokens Used?

At this point some consideration must be given to the practice of using small tokens or tesserae for identification purposes in *hospitium*. For if it is true, as frequently stated, that a guest was expected to furnish evidence in the form of an inscribed token before he received hospitality, that requirement seems to contradict the statement that the custom rested on faith in man's word.

Since Tomasini's treatise *De Tesseriis Hospitalitatis*⁹ appeared in 1643, authors and commentators, sometimes on the authority of that treatise, have stated that it was a common practice among the Greeks and Romans for host and guest after entering into an agreement of hospitality to record their agreement on small tokens.¹⁰ These tokens, which usually consisted of some small object which could be split into two parts, or of two identical objects, were kept by the contracting parties as mementos of their agreement and were used as evidence for legitimate claim of hospitality as long as the agreement lasted. Tomasini's statement (105) regarding the use of tokens is as follows:

Tessera itidem hospitalis, sive hospitii fui, quam hospites, eorumque liberi secum ferebant, ut facilius a veteribus et paternis hospitibus agnosci possent.

Huius formam Euripidis Scholiastes in Medea

optime describit. Qui hospites invicem fieri volebant, ἀσπάλαον [sic], hoc est talum quendam discindebant in duas partes aequas; unam ii, qui hospitium praebebant sibi retinentes; alteram dantes ei, qui hospes fieri solebat: et si contigisset de caetero, uti alter alterius hospitium subiret, producentes dimidium tali renovabant iura hospitalia.

It will be noted that Tomasini used as supporting evidence for his statement the scholiast's note on Euripides' *Medea* 613. A comparison of that note¹¹ and Tomasini's text reveals that he did hardly more than translate the scholiast's note from the Greek into Latin. And as a sample of a *tessera hospitalis*, Tomasini provided in his treatise a drawing of one of the two oval tokens of bone which, he stated, he had seen in Rome. The token was in two parts, with the words POLYNICES/ASCANIO · P inscribed on one part and CLAPHYR · /ANDRAE · M · I · F · on the other; no other words appear. Such evidence does not seem very impressive. For, in the first place, it is doubtful that the bone tokens date back as far as to classical Roman times; and secondly, there is nothing about the tokens themselves or their inscriptions which could positively identify¹² them as *tesserae hospitales*. Moreover, if we pursue the evidence further and examine the verses in Euripides¹³ which first prompted the scholiast's note, it is seen that even the scholiast may have made an unwarranted assumption. The scene is where Jason, in urging Medea to take leave of Corinth, says he will give her tokens (*symbola*) which she may take with her so that she may be assured of kind treatment at the hands of Jason's friends. These *symbola* are not described by Euripides; they probably were not Jason's formal and hereditary *tesserae hospitales*, even if Jason did possess such. More likely they were some articles which Jason's friends would readily recognize as belonging to him, and which would therefore serve Medea as a sort of "letter of introduction." This interpretation is strengthened by a similar use of the word *symbola* by Euripides in *Helen*, 291, another passage sometimes cited¹⁴ in support of the view that tokens were used in guest-friend-

ship. For in that context it is very unlikely that the *symbola* are *tesserae hospitales* since Helen is speaking about tokens which she and her husband, Menelaus, were he alive, might use in order to recognize each other. In this instance the *symbola* may well have been rings, which interpretation would have support from a passage in Pliny's *Natural History*.¹⁴ At any rate, it is hardly to be supposed that formal tokens of guest-friendship were exchanged by husband and wife. Unfortunately the word *symbolon*, in other passages¹⁵ than those mentioned, has occasionally been taken to refer to a *tessera hospitalis* where the contexts indicate that it has other meanings.

Slight Evidence for Use of Tokens

The one passage in Greek authors in which the word *symbolon* seems quite definitely to designate a tessera used in private guest-friendship is in Plato's *Symposium* 191D. The particular tessera which Plato had in mind was apparently in the form of a flat-fish, and the passage has therefore been used as evidence for identifying some small extant tesserae in the shape of a fish or dolphin as *tesserae hospitales*. In Roman authors, there are only two references which are at all explicit regarding the use of tesserae for purposes of identification in private *hospitium*. Both of these occur in Plautus' *Poenulus*.¹⁶ But these three instances in the same sources where there is an abundance of references to hospitality seem to constitute rather fragile evidence on which to declare that exchange of tokens was the regular practice in guest-friendship.

In extant Greek and Roman inscriptions, the evidence for extensive use of tesserae in private *hospitium* is likewise very slight. In the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* and the *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum* there are many inscriptions which pertain to guest-friendship, but only one¹⁷ seems quite definitely to refer to private hospitality. In that instance, however, both the form and the material of the object on which the inscription appears, as well as the words of the inscrip-

tion, support the opinion that it is a *symbolon* used in private guest-friendship. The tessera is made of ivory and engraved on it are two clasped hands, a common symbol of *xenia*.¹⁸

Egbert¹⁹ states that only two or three specimens of tesserae used in *hospitium privatum* are in existence today. What appears to be the best specimen of such a tessera from Roman times is one of bronze in the shape of a ram's head, and bearing two names with the word *hospes* between them:²⁰

T · MANLIUS · T · F ·

HOSPES

T · STAIODIUS · N · F ·

It is somewhat surprising that editors and commentators have failed to call attention to this particular tessera in their comments and notes about the use of tokens in guest-friendship.

Hospitium Publicum vs. Privatum

In regard to Latin inscriptions in general, however, it is significant to note that of the 27 items listed by Dessau²¹ under the heading "Tesserae et Tabulae Patronatus," 26 are bronze plaques commemorating state patronage (*tabulae aeneae patronatus*), and only one²² is identified as a *tessera hospitalis* of private guest-friendship. And this one, the so-called *tessera Fundana*, might possibly have been thus identified, not only because of its shape, but because of Mommsen's comments regarding it in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. He stated that the token was used by its bearer for purposes of identification in *hospitium* in a manner like that referred to in the passages from Plautus' *Poenulus*.²³ The tessera is made of bronze and is in the shape of a fish. But part of the head and the entire tail are lost. The inscription upon it is correspondingly fragmentary.²⁴ The portion of the original inscription which remains, as well as the words restored—probably correctly—by Mommsen, would indicate that this tessera records a compact whereby the people of Fundi established patronage with a certain Tiberius Claudius. In size and shape it is unlike the usual *tabulae patronatus* on which such compacts were recorded. In those re-

spects it is admittedly more like a tessera which might have been used in private guest-friendship, but its inscription would identify it as belonging to *hospitium publicum* rather than to *hospitium privatum*. This particular tessera is frequently referred to in books and commentaries as a sample of the kind of token used in private guest-friendship. But the text of its inscription as well as its mutilated condition makes the evidence doubtful and unconvincing.

Another extant token to which reference is frequently made in support of the view that tesserae were commonly used in guest-friendship is one in the form of a small bronze dolphin, on the flat back side of which appears the inscription, A · HOSTILIUS · A · P / MANCIN · The comment which accompanies this inscription in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* is interesting: "Fortasse est pro tessera hospitali; nam Fundana quoque tessera (n. 6231) delphini formam habet."²⁵ Since the evidence supplied by the words inscribed on the tessera is negligible, the fact that the token resembles the *tessera Fundana* in shape has been taken as the main basis for thinking that it may be a *tessera hospitalis*. But, as has already been stated, the *tessera Fundana* cannot with certainty be designated a token used in *hospitium privatum*.

Friendship on Faith

Without pursuing this examination further, perhaps what has been said will be sufficient to indicate that there is only limited evidence both in literary and in inscriptional sources that the Greeks and Romans used tokens extensively in private guest-friendship. And important to the topic under discussion is the fact that the very limited evidence found in those sources for the use of tokens stands in sharp contrast to the numerous references in the same sources to the practice of guest-friendship. Private *hospitium* was widely observed; but the meagerness of the evidence for the use of tesserae supports the viewpoint that in the private sphere the practice rested primarily, as has been said, on faith in man's word supported by tradition and religion.

During the Homeric Age no tokens of any sort were carried as certificates of guest-friendship to assure kind treatment at the hands of others. Man had unquestioning faith and complete confidence in another's word. Everyone regarded a violation of this universal and sacred obligation as such a serious offence against both gods and men that strangers who came as guest-friends and hosts who accepted them on the same basis had little reason to fear each other. Moreover, quite apart from any consideration of penalty for neglect, the practice of hospitality was an instinctive expression of a humane duty and privilege, and guest-friends were looked upon as a blessing to a house.²⁶ Even from legendary times, however, a few violations of the hallowed tradition had occurred;²⁷ and although the penalties were severe, the violations tended in post-Homeric times to become more frequent.²⁸ Probably one of the best arguments for believing that violations did become more numerous is the fact that tokens came to be used occasionally for identification of guest and host. For as the number of violations of *hospitium* increased, greater protection was demanded for both stranger and host, and the use of tesserae stamped with marks of identification seemed a reasonable expedient. Yet a further explanation for the occasional use of tesserae should also be mentioned: as the number of public agreements increased, so the formalities of the contracts under *hospitium publicum* tended to increase. One of those formalities was the practice of recording the agreements on duplicate tablets (*tabulae*)—or occasionally on small tokens (*tesserae*)—one of which was kept by each of the contracting parties. Many such tablets are extant, a fact which attests to the wide adoption of the practice in public agreements. A few individuals who were perhaps less scrupulous than most people of those times in their adherence to traditional forms found it easy to imitate in their private agreements a practice which had become common in the public sphere. But most Greeks and Romans, although they might without much protest use tokens in the more impersonal dealings with a whole community or state, were re-

luctant to use them in their personal ties of hospitality. The adoption of such a practice in *hospitium privatum* seemed to them a defiance of Zeus Xenios and a violation of their obligations under *fides*. For *fides* meant not merely "keeping one's word," but "to act as honest persons do, to keep faith fairly and in accordance with custom."²⁰ And to use tokens violated custom. The traditional form of *hospitium* was spontaneous and voluntary, simple and informal, and the use of tokens was looked upon as something foreign and artificial which tended to weaken the very foundation of *fides* upon which the practice of private guest-friendship was built.

NOTES

¹ Cf. Mority H. E. Meier, *Commentatio de Proxenia* (Halle, 1843); Joannes G. Schubert, *De Proxenia Attica* (Leipzig, 1881); Paul Monceaux, *Les Proxénies Grecques* (Paris, 1886); Joseph D'Andre, *La Proxénie* (Toulouse, 1911).

² Cf. P. Gislard Egerer, *Die homerische Gastfreundschaft* (Salzburg, 1881).

³ Il. 3.204-08.

⁴ Cf. Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, s.v. "*hospitium*"; *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, s.v. *ξῖνος* & *ξενία*; *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, s.v. "*hospes*" and "*hospitium*."

⁵ E.g. CIG 1193 and 1331.

⁶ Verr. 2.2.110.

⁷ Cf. Cic. *De Off.* 3.105.

⁸ Cf. Hom. Il. 13.625; Od. 6.120, 206-10; 8.576; 9.176, 266-72; 14.56-58, 284; Aesch. *Supp.* 927; Plat. *Leg.* 5.729E-730A; 9.879D-E; Ap. Rh. *Argon.* 2.1134; Cic. *Deiot.* 6.18; *Q. Fr.* 2.10; *Fin.* 3.66; Verg. *Aen.* 1.731; Ov. *Met.* 5.45; 10.224; Luc. 9.131; Curt. 5.2.15.

⁹ Jacques Philippe Tomasini, *De Tessera Hospitalitatis* (Amsterdam, 1670). Its title notwithstanding, only a very small part of this treatise is devoted to a discussion of the tesserae.

¹⁰ For a few examples of such statements, cf. Aug. Ferdinand Ribbeck, *Mittheilungen aus seinen schriftlichen Nachlass* (Berlin, 1848) 178; Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. "*hospitium*," columns 3 and 10; Harper's *Dict. Class. Lit. and Antiq.*, s.v. "*tessera*" and s.v. "*hospitium*" in the appendix; James C. Egbert, *Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions* (New York, 1923) 259; T. J. Haarhoff, *The Stranger at the Gate* (London, 1938) 127; n. ad vs. 613 of Euripides' *Medea* in the editions by Paley, Earle, Allen and Moore, Page, and others; n. ad Poen. V, 1, 25 in M. Accii Plauti *Comediae* in vol. III of *Bibliotheca Classica Latina* edited by Nicolas E. Lemaire. Where any supporting evidence is furnished, reference is most often made to the scholiast's note on Euripides' *Medea* 613, to Plato's *Symposium* 191D, to Plautus' *Poenulus* 654-58 and 1045-55, and

to CIL I, 532.

¹¹ οἱ ἐπιξενούμενοί τιςιν ἀστράγαλον κατατέμνοντες θάτερον μὲν αὐτοὶ κατεῖχον μέρος, θάτερον δὲ κατελίμπανον τοῖς ὑποδεξαμένοις, ἵνα, εἰ δέοι πάλιν αὐτοὺς ἢ τοὺς ἐκείνων ἐπιξενουθῆναι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐπαγόμενοι τὸ ἡμιστράγαλον ἀνανεοῖντο τὴν ξενίαν.

¹² ὡς ἔτοιμος ἀφθόνη δούναι χερσὶ ξένους τε πίμπειν σύμβολ', οἱ δρᾶσουσι σ' εὖ (*Medea* 612-13).

¹³ Cf. n. ad *Medea* 613 in Euripides, edited by F. A. Paley.

¹⁴ 33.1.10.

¹⁵ E.g., in Euripides' *Ion* 1385-86 the phrase τὰ μητρὸς σύμβολα refers to a box or basket entwined with wreaths; in Lysias' *Aristoph.* 19.25-27 the word σύμβολον refers to a royal vase which was among the ξενία inherited by Demus; in Plautus' *Pseud.* 51-59 and 1091-92 *symbolum* refers to a man's likeness stamped in wax with a ring, and used at a single specific occasion; and in *Bacch.* 249-69 the word is used again for an object, not described, which was used for purposes of recognition; in Herodotus 6.86 the *σύνβολον* is a token whereby a person might be recognised, but has no connection with guest-friendship.

¹⁶ Vv. 954-58 and 1045-53.

¹⁷ CIG 5496. Sometimes also cited is CIG 6778 which has the following words: Σύνβολον πρὸς Οὐελαυνίους. The Οὐελαυνίους have been identified as a Gallic tribe; therefore, although the *σύνβολον* is very appropriately in the form of the right hand of a woman, it does not belong strictly to *hospitium privatum*.

¹⁸ Cf. Tac. *Hist.* 1.54; 2.8.

¹⁹ Cf. James C. Egbert, *Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions* (New York, revised 1923) 259. In the older edition the author states, "no known specimens are in existence today."

²⁰ Cf. *Class. Rev.* 9.428; *Rhein. Mus.* 51.473.

²¹ Cf. Hermannus Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* II, pp. 528-37.

²² CIL I.532.

²³ Fundana ita comparata est, ut qui accepisset eam secum in itinere ferret hospitique exhiberet agnoscendam, qua de consuetudine fidem faciant cum notissimi Poenuli Plautinae loci (5, 1, 25.2, 87 sq.).

²⁴ CONSCRIPTES · COSE · T · F . . . praefecti / et prae-
fectura · tota fundi hospitium / fecere · quom · ti
claudio? . . . / in · eius · fidem · omnes nos tradimus
et · convenimus / coptamus eum patronum / M · CLAV-
DIO · MP . . . COS.

²⁵ CIL 10.9072.

²⁶ Cf. Ovid *Met.* 8.614-724.

²⁷ Cf. Hom. *Od.* 250-370; Hes. *Op.* 183-84, 327; Aesch. *Agam.* 61, 401, 1590; Eur. *Rhes.* 842; Ovid *Met.* 1.144; 5.657-59; 10.224-28.

²⁸ Hesiod's words (*Op.* 183-84) might be taken as an early indication of this degeneracy:

οὐδὲ ξείνος ξενόδοκῳ καὶ ἑταίρῳ ἑταίρω,
οὐδὲ κασιγνήτος φίλος ἔσται, ὥς τὸ πάρος περ.

²⁹ Cf. Fritz Schulz, *Principles of Roman Law* (Oxford, 1936) 228.

A plea for the teaching of civilization's
first great language through the works of
the world's greatest teller of tales.

Revitalizing Beginners' Greek Through Homer

By Raymond V. Schoder, S.J.

THERE is nothing wrong with Greek, except the state of its health. The subject itself is of the utmost worth and importance in the educative process; it is one of the supreme treasures in our cultural heritage; it has a most definite and dynamically beneficial value for the modern American mind. But right now the American mind and Greek are not getting together very well.

Greek stands in readiness, charged with its age-old and unaging power of energizing, moulding, and nourishing young minds. Meanwhile, young American minds, needing the specifically Greek contribution to their formation more than at any other time in the nation's history (I will explain my point below), go about seeking what they may devour to meet the driving hunger of their awakening mental powers—for the mind too must have its food if it is to grow, be healthy, function in a truly human way; not in bread alone shall a man live.

(The author of this vigorous plea for the re-awakening of interest in Greek through the use of Homer as introductory material was born in Battle Creek, Michigan. He received his A.B. and M.A. from Loyola University, centering his studies on Homer and Plato. He has a Ph.D. in Greek, Latin, and Linguistics from Saint Louis University, and has taught at Loyola Academy and the University of Detroit High School. He is the author of a lively pamphlet, *Pity the Greekless: the Sad Story of Egbert, an Unalert Sophomore*. In addition to contributing numerous articles and reviews to classical, educational, philosophical and literary journals in this country and abroad, he is co-editor of a book of essays on the poetry and study of Gerald Manley Hopkins.

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All too often, these growing minds miss the benefit of Greek—its tonic influence and nutritious substance—because unaware of its appeal and worth. Many others, though knowing the high merit of Greek for their mental diet, are frightened away from the subject by the amount of toil involved before the hard shell of grammar can be broken and the reputedly wonderful literary fruit enjoyed. Not a few are dismayed and discouraged by their slow and painful progress, and abandon the struggle before actually tasting the fruit at all. Some, getting as their sample of Greek literature only the first part of the *Anabasis*, find the taste dry, flat, a disappointment, not worth the effort involved, and cross Greek off their future menu as a failure.

If we are to restore Greek to its proper place in American education; if we are to help more of our youth to find out, and profit from, its special educative merits; if we are to remedy the poor health of Greek studies today in our schools, we must improve our presentation of the subject in three ways: make introductory courses more directly and widely appealing, step up progress and sense of confidence and achievement by increased psychological and pedagogic efficiency in learning the elements of the language, and construct a more closely organized integration of courses for steady advance from memorization of the alphabet to developed ability in working with skilled ease on the texts of standard major authors.

The following pages are in the nature of suggestions for a new and in many ways radically different approach to Greek, aimed at achieving the above-mentioned desiderata. No

doubt, not all will think this proposal the complete answer. Nor is it presented as such. The human equation of different tastes, viewpoints, and educational aims will most likely always prevent the unanimous approval of any one method or approach. But it may be of use as well as of interest to present the plan for examination and discussion.

General Strategy

A BEGINNERS' course in Greek should be, I argue, simple, inherently appealing, psychologically and pedagogically effective, vitally educative, and a self-contained unit incorporating all vocabulary, grammar, drills, and readings to be covered in the introductory course. It should be equally suited to high school or college beginners, and to a program either terminating on completion of the introductory course or advancing from it to further Greek studies. The present confused and varied arrangement of the curriculum in regard to Greek requires this flexibility; the need of bringing Greek and the American mind into fruitful contact calls for this stress on interest and carefully designed pedagogical effectiveness. We must present beginners' Greek in a way that will attract and hold more students and lead them rapidly yet solidly to a fruition of the specific benefits of a Greek education.

The technique employed to attain this high objective should be, I urge, to center all introductory Greek around Homer and to facilitate the mastery of the language itself by simplifying the presentation of grammar and vocabulary and by concentrating on essentials (those particular items actually operative in reading the text assigned), so that the student may quickly acquire the satisfaction of reading with understanding and inevitable pleasure a substantial portion—say, 1,600 lines—of the *Odyssey* and *Iliad* in Greek. That would send him away from his Greek studies, if he can take no more than this, with a good taste in his mouth and pleasant memories of time spent most profitably. It would also inspire many (we may hope many more than now) to want more of this good thing and to carry on their

Greek studies to further vistas and achievements.

This method would fell at a blow the three factors which seem to have been responsible for the death or decline of Greek in so many schools, especially high schools—the over-emphasis on *grammar* to the slighting or undue postponement of literary experience, the treating of high-school Greek always as a thorough and prolonged *preparation* for a hypothetical future of college contact with actual literature (which in the majority of cases now cannot eventuate, so that the students never see Greek at its best, in its literature, either in high school or college), and the use of the *first part of Xenophon* as introductory sample—in the case of many, sole representative—of Greek's literary merits.

Now the first two books of the *Anabasis* are a good "corpus vile" for grammar drill; but they are about the most uninspiring and superficial literary material which could be found in Greek. Many a student rightfully feels that if all his mountainous labor with unending grammar and vocabulary leads only to this, it was not worth it, and he wants no more of it; and he is sceptical about promises that things will be better in college authors. Again, he resents being forced to memorize a great mass of subtle sub-rules, exceptions, and irregular forms or principal parts only to find that he never needs or uses them in his actual reading of Greek authors, even in several years' work, or perhaps uses them but once in a lifetime. The way he should be treated is to be told what particular words, endings, rules will actually keep coming up in the text selections which he is going to read, be made to master *them* thoroughly, with his mind unconfused by unimportant items, then be allowed to read a sizable portion of Greek literature at its best. Let him learn the other items later, when and if he meets them in a text.

Greek is Human

FOR the primary significance of Greek in education is not mental discipline and grammatical training (though it is strong in these points) but literary, humanistic, cultural

awakening and development. Greek is the most inherently *literary*, the most imaginatively, emotionally, and aesthetically dynamic and stimulating of all literatures yet produced. It has a fresh and virile vitality all its own. It can exert a uniquely invigorating influence on the mental and cultural formation of the youthful mind, stirring into activity and growth its latent capacities by the energizing shock of firsthand contact with the remarkably direct, profound, and warmly *human* qualities of the Greeks' soundly realistic yet nobly idealized insight into the timeless aspects of the world of man, nature, and thought. To hold a squirming young mind in face-to-face contact with the great Greek writers is to expose it to a vigorously mellowing and humanizing influence, to bring to it, if anything can, at least the beginnings of an authentic personal participation in that *humane* attitude towards life which gives priority to the soul of man, to universal and permanent realities and to things of the spirit.

This is the essence of the classical heritage; it is the one thing most lacking, and therefore more needed than ever before, in the modern American outlook. It is the thing which can do most, in a natural way, to counteract that deadly materialism and superficiality of the modern outlook which is poisoning the mentality of the world and substituting for the progressive culture of the great classical-Christian tradition a germ-culture of decaying ideals in which the lethal bacteria of secularism, totalitarian servility, war, and new Dachaus cannot but thrive. America needs deeper cultural roots, more truly human ideals, if it is to use its wealth and power for its own and the world's higher good, exert a beneficial influence instead of becoming merely a nation of highly skilled barbarians.¹

Now since, apart from the supernatural Christian revelation and influence, Greek is the recognized chief fountainhead of the humanistic mould of mind, the principal function of a Greek course should be to communicate something of that outlook and tradition to the student's mind and work it into the very fibers of his thought. This is true even in high school, for although the student at that stage

cannot enter as fully into the literary and humane qualities of Greek as the more mature college student, he should nevertheless make a beginning, so that he may come to higher studies already possessed of some background and experimental awareness of cultural values. The humane outlook is a *habit* of mind, and as such has to grow, fight its way against opposing assumptions, sink gradually into the core of the person's thinking and reactions. College is pretty late to begin. If school administrators could be brought to see things in this light, and be persuaded that there is a way of achieving this ideal through a properly organized Greek course, it might mark the beginning of a return of high-school Greek!

Why Homer?

THE REASONS for building a beginners' course around Homer² are numerous and persuasive. They all center around the unique suitability of Homer for attaining the various ideals and objectives discussed above. Homeric poetry is easier, more appealing, profoundly cultural and humanizing, the presupposed basis of all later classical literature and best introduction thereto, and the most universally admired of the world's poetry, a good taste of which will please and profit the student and make him desirous of more Greek.

Despite widespread and rather natural assumptions by those for whom Attic has been the first and basic form of Greek learned, the Homeric dialect is *not* more complicated and confusing, and the vastness of Homeric vocabulary is *not*, if properly handled, too much for beginners. As a matter of statistical fact, there are far fewer single-occurrence words in all Homer than in the total works of Xenophon: 1965 as against 3021.³ Again, there are but 86 Homeric endings for all noun and adjective forms in contrast to 108 in Attic, and of these, 85 Attic forms are so common that they are always taught whereas 43 Homeric forms suffice for reading extensive selections—which means that the student has to learn twice as many declension endings to read a bit of Xenophon or the standard Attic authors as to read 1600 lines of Homer.

In like manner, Homeric syntax is far easier

to learn than Attic, being less involved and less subtly refined. Statistical investigation shows that on the plan here proposed the whole grammar assigned in the course, including all paradigms, irregular endings, forms, and syntax, would take only *eight pages* when put into complete conspectus in paradigms. Yet on that basis, the student could read a good deal of Homer and would have a very broad and workable foundation (about four-fifths complete and already 85% identical with Attic) for subsequent wide reading in the rest of Homer, or, with the aid of a transition book (explained below), the standard Attic authors. Vocabulary burden would be actually less than in the currently used Attic introductory books, and by the end of the course the student would have mastered nearly two-thirds of the high-frequency words in all Homer, i.e., those occurring ten times or oftener in the entire *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (as listed in Owen and Goodspeed, *Homeric Vocabularies*). With the aid of a visible-vocabulary edition of the complete epics, listing on the page facing the text all low-frequency words occurring on the opposite page of Greek, the student could pass from the course itself to rapid and pleasurable reading anywhere or everywhere in Homer. That would be a classical education in itself! These basic Homeric vocables are also an exceptionally good foundation for reading the lyric poets and tragedians.

Easier than Xenophon

HOMER, then, is an easier introduction to Greek than Xenophon or scattered Attic selections. That he is also more appealing goes without argument. His story, full of varied adventure, heroism, pathos, sublimity, and all the ways of men, has delighted readers of all ages and times. Its unfading freshness, its bright imaginative and emotional beauty, its vigor yet tenderness will hold the interest and arouse the enthusiasm of the student as probably nothing else in the whole range of ancient literature can do. Why not lure students into taking Greek by offering such high rewards from the very start? No one ever read much Homer in Greek without liking it.

As an instrument for initiating and nourishing that humanistic and cultural outlook which we owe it to our students to impart, Homer is likewise unsurpassed. He is, in Plato's phrase (*Rep.* 607A), "the most poetic of poets," and as Matthew Arnold says, "Whatever the other works of classical antiquity have to give us, Homer gives it more abundantly than they all."⁴ The wonderfully human view of things which he presents with such warmth and reality will silently tend to open the student's mind to a new appreciation of the significance and nobility of life, and to a more sympathetic social understanding of the interests and ideals, the feelings and motivation of other men. To see life through Homer's eyes is to penetrate to its inner depths, to realize its laws and dignity and worth with new clarity and force. It is hard to read Homer and *not* come away changed, mellowed, and inspired.⁵

The efficacy of the Homeric poems, furthermore, for bringing home to the growing mind the real nature and vital worth of great literature as such is probably superior to that of any other works which could be chosen in any language. The freshness, vigor, imaginative brilliance, emotional depth, and artful use of words which characterize Homer's masterful style are so authentic and so obvious that it is practically impossible for even a high-school student to miss noting them. There are, all through Homer, passages of such sheer and inescapable poetry, such wonderful literary magic, that even the most prosaic must stir in admiration.

The Clarity of Homer

WHAT is more, the literary element in Homer is not hidden behind a veil of obscure or complicated diction or under a tangled mass of facts, assumed background in unfamiliar customs, historical contexts, terminology, etc., or some involved stylistic convention, such as prevent or painfully interfere with the immature mind's penetration to the real force and artistry of many an ancient author's thought. The very essence of great literature is to be found in passage after passage of Homer, and standing forth in such

clarity and immediacy, such simple directness of expression, that repeated contact with such passages must impress the student's mind with their special effect and open his eyes to some realization of the artistry behind it. Nothing will quickly turn a distracted modern youth into an accomplished literary critic or lover of great books wherever they may be found. But if anything can give him a start—and a strong push—in that direction, it is a good taste of Homer in Greek. "To love Homer," Andrew Lang remarked,⁸ "is a liberal education."

Not only will the student learn from Homer more than from any other author to understand and enjoy fine literature, but he will gain from firsthand study of Homer a most valuable literary background. Homer is probably the most imitated and most influential of all authors outside the Bible. The whole literary world pays tribute to the inspiration of his example by acknowledgment or imitation. It is of the utmost advantage, then, for a student to bring to the study of the *Aeneid* or *Paradise Lost* or a hundred other basic works a personal acquaintance with Homer's content, style, technique. Above all, Homer is the basis on which all Greek and Latin authors explicitly build, a familiarity with whom they presuppose in their own readers. Later classical literature is filled with quotations, allusions, and subtle verbal echoes of Homer, which the writers intend their readers to recognize and enjoy as such. Their thought, too, and literary qualities are best understood in relation to their Homeric background. This is indisputable. It is obviously better, then, to take Homer first, rather than later or not at all.

Furthermore, later Greek grammar and inflection is historically a development out of earlier Homeric usage. The best way to get an 'inside' knowledge of Attic forms is to know their background and to see them in relation to their often more transparent Homeric equivalents (e.g., in explaining Attic contracted forms or why the accent in the genitive of *πόλις* does not shift to the penult). It is definitely easier, as well as more philologically apt, to progress from Homeric dia-

lect to its natural outgrowth, Attic, than to reverse the process. It is also far less confusing.

Most Famous Author

AGAIN, Homer is probably the most famous of all authors in any language. To be able to read him in the original is something to work for and be proud of. Some knowledge of Homer is simply taken for granted in educated circles, and it certainly puts one at no disadvantage in literary discussion. Homer is too great to be ignorant of, too good to miss. If a student saw no more Greek than a year or two of Homer, he would still be well introduced into the heart of the subject, and receive a more clear-cut and powerful educational impact than from merely picking up by great labor a somewhat dazed smattering of one more foreign language and reading a bit of Xenophon or scattered tidbits of various authors. There is solid foundation for E. K. Rand's famous advice to college students, that if they cannot specialize in Greek they should at least "buy, beg, borrow, or steal enough of a knowledge of Greek to read Homer in the original."⁷

It should be remembered that in classical times the Greeks themselves centered all their education around Homer and considered him the best instrument for moulding in the young a humane and cultured outlook on life. Quintilian (1. 8. 5) very strongly insists that in learning Greek, the student should begin with Homer, and this was a common practice in Roman education. It was from Homer that many of the greatest Renaissance figures first learned their Greek, and in modern times many outstanding educators and classicists have urged a return to the same sensible system, condemning grammar-worship to the lions. Herbart, Dissen, Ranke, Ahrens, Goethe, Wilamowitz, for instance, and Andrew Lang, Shorey, Seymour, Bolling, to mention no more. In his sixth essay on education, Herbart proclaims:

Homer elevates the student without depressing the teacher. [A memorable sentence!] . . . The reasons for giving preference to Homer's *Odyssey* in early education are well known. . . . The

Odyssey, it is true, possesses no magic power to animate those who are entirely unsuccessful in languages, or who do not work at them seriously; nevertheless, it surpasses in definite educative influence, as is proved by the experience of many years, every other work of classic times that could be chosen.

Andrew Lang vigorously argues in the same vein in a brilliant essay "Homer and the Study of Greek" in his *Essays in Little*, his main point being (p. 83): "I venture very humbly to think that any one who, even at the age of Cato, wants to learn Greek should begin where Greek literature, where all profane literature begins—with Homer himself." Lane Cooper, a most stimulating and experienced teacher, pleads loudly in his latest book⁸ for just the type of course I am here suggesting, and in England Cyril Bailey has made a similar plea to teachers, arguing that Greek studies should begin with Homer, whose dialect would not seem odd if one started with it and whose poetry and stories would at once win the student's heart.⁹

New Techniques

Two features of the proposed course, as is now clear, are its primarily literary and humanistic aim and its centering all around Homer. A third feature, just as important as a means toward a more appealing and successful Greek method, is the construction of the course itself. Since it is intended to be a reading course in *Homer*, self-contained and an end in itself rather than a mere preparation for further Greek (though fully suited to that purpose also), every element of its make-up, whether traditional or not, should find in that explicit aim its *raison d'être*.

Everything should grow out of and fit into the passages from Homer actually to be read during the course. These selections, chosen for their inherent interest, their unified theme and educative value, and their direct correlation with Vergil (by giving those specific passages of Homer which Vergil draws on and presupposes in Books 1, 2, 4, and 6 of the *Aeneid*), ought to total about 1600 lines, 350 or so to be read in second semester of first year (in high-school classes; college beginners

using the course would cover both books in one year), the rest in second year. They should include the main adventures of Odysseus in the first half of the *Odyssey* and the high spots of the story of Achilles and Hector at the end of the *Iliad*, as well as the incomparable Hector and Andromache passage in Book 6.

Vocabulary Frequency

THE HOMER readings, thus determined, should first of all be subjected to minute and exhaustive statistical analysis, a record being made of precisely what words, principal parts, endings, and syntax rules actually come up in these 1600 lines, where they come up first, and how often; also, what items do not occur at all. Whatever was found to occur *three times* or oftener in the readings would be formally taught and mastered in the grammar and vocabulary assignments; items occurring only once or at most twice in the whole body of readings would be explained in a note where they happen to come up in the text and are temporarily needed, but are not important enough to require being memorized—at least not until the student goes beyond the course, if he does (and even then they may never be met again.)

This strategy would relieve the student of a mass of difficult, confusing, and, at least for the present, unimportant details, irregularities, rare forms, and sub-rules of total Greek grammar, allowing him to concentrate with more energy and time on items which will actually keep coming up in the passages which he knows he is going to read. He should thus gain a clearer-focused and more solid grasp on these fundamental and oft-recurring items than he possibly could if distracted and overwhelmed by a flood of matter and recondite details in his first struggles with the language. He would also be saved enough time to be able to go ahead and read a sizable portion of Homer, and with complete grammatical understanding of every item he sees. If the student goes beyond this course (and we may hope that his pleasant experience during it would inspire and encourage him to do so), then is the time to add to the firmly

established framework of essential grammar and vocabulary already learned other words, rules, and forms, *as he meets them* in his reading.

It must not be thought that this procedure would result only in a spotty, unbalanced, or superficial acquaintance with Greek grammar. As a matter of fact, nearly all the major items of Homeric and therefore Attic grammar (they are 85% identical) come up in any 1,500 or so lines, along with a substantial amount of basic, high-frequency general Greek words. The matter not learned would be only about one-fifth of the total contained in standard introductory grammars—but precisely that one-fifth which is the hardest and most confusing for beginners.

Easy Transition to Attic

SINCE the student would thus know by the end of the course four-fifths of standard Greek grammar, already 85% the same as Attic, *transition to Attic* would be simple and rapid, with the aid of a special transition booklet containing full paradigms and syntax-charts of Attic grammar, with all new or different items not learned in the Homer course given in heavy print. The student could thus see at a glance what particular forms and rules he must now learn or re-learn, and by concentrating on them for a week or so would be able to take up any standard Attic author with a clear and adequate antecedent knowledge of the grammar which he will there see in use.

The process could be rendered still more easy and sure by getting out special editions of the commonly read college authors, in which a special introduction would set forth the particular high-frequency or important grammar and vocabulary items which will be first met in that work, with all other words and forms which occur but have not been learned in the introduction, transition book, or Homer course given in a note opposite the text to save ambiguity and the waste of time of thumbing dictionary and grammar in search of the strange item. Such an edition, building on an explicit knowledge of just what the student already knows and just what is new to him here, would make prog-

ress through various Attic authors both pleasant and efficient. The student would be working out the text in full grammatical and vocabulary detail, yet not be lost in such things or so slowed down by them that he could not *read* the work as literature. He would be saved enough time from merely mechanical processes with grammar and lexicon to be able to reread the work after he has once been through it carefully. Such rereading (so rare in present methods) would give three times as much literary enjoyment and understanding as a single laborious and half-uncertain reading of an author can ever do. It might give Greek a chance to show its real merit and power, to exert its educative influence to the full.

A series of such *reading* editions of major Greek authors, each book containing a semester's work and independent of all others but explicitly building on the basic Homer course and transition book, so that the student could take the various authors in any sequence he preferred and always know just what he is doing when working on a given text, would supply that *integrated course* of Greek studies from alphabet to established facility in the language which was listed above as a prime instrument for revitalizing Greek as a concerted and vital influence in the educational process.

Grammar in the First Quarter

THE beginners' book should be so arranged that nearly all the grammar for the entire course is covered in the first quarter of the program, leaving only a few minor items to be built into this general structure during the Homer readings, as they happen to come up for the first time in the text. About half of the memory vocabulary occurring in the first part of the readings should also be learned in the first quarter of the course when grammar is studied, all other memory words being learned just before they are first met in the text during the following three quarters devoted to reading Homer. In this way, the student would come to the Homer selections very specifically prepared to understand them readily. Already knowing all the grammar and

all the words, except those supplied immediately below the text (as being low-frequency non-memory words or forms), he should find it really easy and therefore pleasant to read Homer as *literature*. And he would have a sense of control, of clear comprehension of the text, because the only endings, rules, and words which he finds in the readings are precisely the ones which he already knows from earlier lessons, or finds supplied in the notes to that particular lesson in the case of non-memory items.

This method of learning nearly all essential grammar, in reduced compass and by simplified means of presentation eliminating repetition and multiplication of paradigms, in an organized way and orderly progression before taking up the Homer text has a great advantage over the system which plunges the beginner into reading the poem before more than a few fundamentals have been learned, all other items being learned as they happen to come up first in the text. The latter method, in order to get the beginner into actual reading of Homer as soon as possible, must abandon any planned sequence of grammar principles arranged according to their inherent connection or psychologically apt association and take up individual facts of inflection or syntax in the haphazard order of their first appearance in the text. With so complex and elaborate a language as Greek, this 'functional' and positivistic methodology tends to breed confusion and vagueness. The beginner who has to jump about from one part of the grammar to another or else by-pass numerous forms met in the text but not yet understandable grammatically must suffer considerable distraction of attention and find the text more of a puzzle than a piece of literature.

Grammar Related to Reading

It is much better, surely, to postpone the adventure of actually reading Homer for a while until the general picture of Greek grammar is more or less complete in essential outline (especially if this can be done, as it can, in a few months' study). This allows a more reasonably ordered progression in learn-

ing the principles of Greek expression, and a much more enjoyable and penetrating approach to the Homeric text once it is taken up. For thus practically everything seen in a given set of lines is antecedently familiar, at once conveying its readily understandable meaning. The result is that the text can be rapidly and solidly understood, often at first reading. The result of *that* is a gratifying satisfaction and sense of control over the language and a tendency to look on the Homeric text, not as a clinical exhibit for scientific probing into the anatomy of the Greek language, but as a living and dynamically expressive piece of literature—which it is. This dissociation of the inevitable drudgery of grammar-learning from the high adventure of reading Homer in the original may make the first few months of predominantly grammatical study less exciting, but it certainly more than compensates that by the subsequent ease, rapidity, and unobstructedly *literary* interest of the Homer readings. That should be reward enough for the student's persevering concentration at the beginning on the dry bones of grammar; for he will know that shortly the labor will be over and the enduring joy commence of using these newly acquired habits of thought-expression for following and relishing the "wingèd thoughts [as Shelley calls them] on blind Homer's heart."

Real Ideas in Sentences

THE PERIOD of grammar study itself need not be uninteresting if the impressive logical structure of the Greek language is not buried from view beneath a mass of details, exceptions, and recondite irregularities, and if the drill sentences supplied for practice in the functional use of the language contain real *ideas*. Exercises which are stilted and unnatural in content may be useful drill on mere forms and vocabulary, but they lack educational value and hardly do justice to Greek as a real language. Let the exercises say something interesting and worthwhile, the sort of thing people might actually say in normal moments, in the very process of drilling and reviewing grammar and vocabulary knowl-

edge. This requires much extra effort in the composition of sentences for drill, but it can be done and is worth the labor involved to save Greek from the disrepute of seeming to beginners to be mostly baby-talk or artificial nonsense.

An effective means to this end would be to employ for part of the drill exercises *actual quotations* from Greek authors over all the range of the literature from Homer to New Testament and beyond. These quotations, transposed into Homeric dialect and simplified where necessary to stay within the limits of grammar and vocabulary already known but without losing their exact thought and style, would by reason of their interesting and varied content and authentic ring make the beginner's work pleasant and satisfying. He would be encouraged upon finding himself already dealing directly with significant Greek authors. He would also draw from these quotations the beginnings of a knowledge and appreciation of many vital aspects of Greek thought and literature, and perhaps a taste for further reading later in these interesting post-Homeric writers.

Broad Cultural Aspects

THIS broader contact with general Greek culture should be further promoted by numerous brief inspirational and informative essays throughout the book opening up to the student's view (and to class discussion under the teacher's Socratic guidance) many facets of Greek life, history, literature, art, science, great personalities, and persistent cultural influence on modern life and thought. Well-chosen illustrations should contribute their special influence toward intensifying this liberalizing and humane atmosphere which ought to permeate the entire Greek course.

Considerable use should also be made of numerous striking testimonies from famous leaders of thought, very up-to-date as well as from earlier periods, to the charm and importance of Homer, classical education, and Greek in general. These quotations would silently build up in the student's mind a cumulative impression that this subject is certainly highly thought of by people of eminence and is evi-

dently a very worthwhile part of any man's education.

A major feature of the course should be the important role assigned to the study of English derivatives from the various Greek words learned in the vocabularies and readings. Recondite, unimportant, and over-technical words should be excluded, but all the more useful and common derivatives should be given and *explained*, with illustrative use in a sentence where needed, when their Greek parent-word is first met. Students would see in this feature a very *practical* benefit of Greek study, as they would be coming to understand more clearly, and below the surface, numerous items from that very class of English words which cause people most difficulty, and knowledge of which is a major factor in distinguishing an educated person from one with less definite control over English vocabulary.¹⁰ Derivatives also help in remembering what the Greek means.

Practical Memory Work

IN HARD-HEADED pursuit of the aim of making introductory Greek more simple, appealing, and psychologically effective, the course should spare the beginner all useless or unnecessary memory burden, to give him more time and energy for reading the author. Thus, in memorizing vocabulary, only the *first three* principal parts of verbs should be assigned, unless the statistical pre-survey indicates that a given part beyond the aorist will actually come up at least twice in the readings. If all the parts of two or three model verbs were given and drilled on in learning the general paradigm of the complete verb, the student would know how to handle any of the last three stems if it is given in memorizing the verb's parts or is indicated in a note *ad loc.* at the single place in the text where it happens to come up. The student would thus still fully understand any Homeric form met in the actual selections read, yet be spared the useless and discouraging (if not hopeless!) burden of trying to remember a thousand or more principal parts which he will never, or but most rarely, use, and which are moreover just the parts most irregular and

hardest to remember. This will help, not hurt, his ability to read, by giving him a firmer grasp on the really important and frequent forms, unconfused by wearying efforts to retain the others also. These others he would probably have to look up specially or check again anyhow if he ever did meet them later in a text, even in the current system of 'learning' all.

Similarly, although the complete regular ω -verb conjugation should be mastered, only those few particular μ -verb forms which actually occur twice or more in the Homer selections should be memorized. (For instance: $\delta\acute{\omega}\kappa\epsilon(\nu)$: 3 sg.aor.act.ind. "he gave"). This would result in an enormous saving of time, energy, and affection for Greek without in any way weakening precise grammatical understanding of the text read. Who has not been tempted to despair by the difficulty of teaching—or even remembering for oneself—the mass of μ -verb forms on top of the regular Greek verb? And why force beginners (gentle urging is not enough!) to memorize 180 special forms of $\tau\iota\theta\eta\mu\iota$, for instance, besides all its regular forms, when they will only need or use a dozen of them in the whole 1,600 lines of text (perhaps all the Greek many of them will ever read), and of these only three or four more than twice?

Grammar for Use

WHY, I say, continue to pile on all beginners these enormous, depressing, and practically useless memory burdens as though we expected all of them to become life-long specialists in Greek grammar? The few who will become such must of course eventually get themselves a Smyth and a Liddell-Scott-Jones and delve into all details of the language. But even they do not have to begin that way. To continue to force them and all other beginners to try to master the whole of Greek grammar and inflection from the start is not only to discourage or prevent large numbers of capable students from merely taking two or four years of Greek for their education (not livelihood), but likely enough, because of this restricted esoteric enrolment in Greek courses known to the general stu-

dent body to be depressingly difficult and grammar-plagued, it is also to cut off much of the normal supply of future life-time Greek experts which should flow from the interest aroused by the subject itself in large classes which started out merely to get a certain amount of Greek for their general education and well-being. I think that we touch here a basic and undeferrable problem whose prompt solution lies at the roots of our own professional welfare.

Brief Daily Lessons

A FINAL recommendation for a course more effective from both students' and teacher's angle in the matter of scheduling or organization is to divide the material into many brief lessons instead of a relatively few large or prolonged ones. What is desirable is a separate lesson for each day's work, containing within itself all new vocabulary and grammar to be learned, the drill sentences illustrating their use in practice, the readings, word-studies on derivatives, and supplementary items connected with the work of a given class-period. In this way, both teacher and student would know clearly where things stand, just what is expected as a given day's assignment, and how each day's work fits into the planned progress of the course as a whole. Certain days should, however, be left free, at the teacher's disposal for extra review, special needs, and general lee-way to accommodate varying schedules and circumstances. This feature of book-design would greatly facilitate the teacher's problems of organization and study-assignment.

The whole bearing of this paper has been to outline with concrete principles and suggestions a methodology in the presentation of beginners' Greek which seems to me and many others with whom I have discussed the idea to meet the actual current situation in a more effective manner. Prevailing methods are still too much under the influence of the long-established traditional procedure which developed in an age of heady enthusiasm for sheer grammar and when Greek classes were well populated with students who had little chance of avoiding the subject and could be

assumed to be going to take Greek in a large way and over the course of many years. The resultant emphasis on complete grammatical detail no matter how recondite, hypothetical, or rare in actual literary usage; the insistence on beginning with Attic dialect and with the first book of Xenophon; the treatment of all beginners as though desiring and needing a full acquaintance with all aspects of Greek grammar as preparation for extensive subsequent reading—these are the elements of a methodology which is indeed venerable with age and had considerable success in its day of glory. But it is not in itself, I think, the most effective and psychologically suitable method for the generality of Greek students, or for attracting them in numbers and giving Greek a chance to exercise to best effect on their education its truest and most beneficial influence. However well the system, despite its faults, may have worked in times past, it does not seem to be in vital and dynamic contact with the more complex situation in educational problems and ideals today.

What is needed now is a method which will bring within the reach of the many who cannot devote long years to Greek (and therefore at present often do not take it at all) a quick knowledge of just that grammar ac-

tually needed for reading specified substantial portions of great Greek literature, so that even a year or two only of Greek studies may bring a real taste of the subject's special interest, literary splendor, and energizing power as an instrument of liberal education. If the method at the same time lays a solid foundation for further Greek studies along the lines of an integrated complete course for those who will go on, it should contribute much toward a solution of that urgent double problem in which we all have a personal and professional concern—how to attract to Greek many more capable students who would otherwise not consider it feasible, and how from among them start off an adequate number on the adventurous long-range pursuit of Greek studies in their fulness as a life-time ideal.

If, then, there is nothing wrong with Greek itself, but only with the state of its health in modern schools, perhaps this new prescription for the introductory course, compounded of Homer and a more currently suitable methodology, might act as a bracing tonic helping to revitalize the subject in American education.

There is only one way of finding out.

NOTES

¹ Anyone who seeks concrete evidence and foundation for this position can find it in terrifying abundance in such reports of recent events as Dorothy Thompson's powerful article, "The Lesson of Dachau," which appeared in the *Ladies' Home Journal* for Sept. 1945 and has been reprinted in numerous other places since. One might recall, also, the words of the British economist and political thinker Christopher Hollis, in the *London Tablet* for Nov. 11, 1939: "More and more, I think that it is the neglect of the classics which is the explanation of the strange smallness of American influence over the world's culture today. With a classical education, America might be the leading country in the world; without it, whatever her wealth, she will never be culturally one of the world's great powers, nor will we ever be able to count with certainty on her influence being in favor of stability."

² Twenty-five years ago, Clyde Pharr courageously broke with tradition and sought to establish the principle of beginning Greek with Homer. His book, *Homeric Greek* (Heath, 1920), is a learned and valuable work, and is used in many colleges. But, as teachers know, the book

is difficult to handle because too full of recondite subtleties of philology and grammar, overwhelming in its vocabulary demands, and not well organized for effective logical progress in learning the language (many forms are met in the Homer readings before being learned grammatically, so that the notes are constantly making the beginner skip about all over the grammatical appendix in a confusing and haphazard sequence determined by what happens to come up in the text). The book is certainly far too difficult for high-school use, for which indeed it was not intended. As will be seen, the system I am here proposing differs very considerably from Pharr's in content, organization, and methodology.

³ See the statistics in Pharr, *Homeric Greek*, p. xxii (based on the studies of L. Friedländer and G. Sauppe).

⁴ *On Translating Homer* (London, Routledge, n.d.), p. 66.

⁵ I have developed my point here more in detail in "Homer—Chief Humanist," *Classical Bulletin* 16 (June, 1940), pp. 70-71.

⁶ "Homer and the Study of Greek," in his *Essays in Little* (Scribners, 1901), pp. 82-83.

⁷ In the symposium *On Going to College* (Oxford U. Press, 1938), p. 27.

⁸ See the chapter "A Book for Beginners in Greek," in his *Experiments in Education* (Cornell U. Press, 1943), pp. 77-82. Cooper's plan came to my attention after all details of the present proposal had already taken shape. His advocacy of a similar approach to Greek is encouraging and powerful support.

⁹ See his address, in *Education of To-Day*, edited by E. D. Laborde (Cambridge U. Press, 1935), especially p. 40.

¹⁰ Note the significant preponderance of Greek and Latin derivatives in the word-tests of I.Q. examinations, mental aptitude clinics, the frequent word quizzes in *Reader's Digest* (e.g., the issues for March 1945 and December 1945), etc. Very interesting and worthwhile studies of the relation between vocabulary and general success may be found in *Atlantic Monthly* 153, 160-166, and in *School and Society* 51, 221-224. See also F. M. Snowden's article and its references in *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* 40 (April, 1945), pp. 437-444.

—Editorial Comment

New Editor of "Notes"

WITH suitably mingled emotions, we announce a change in the editorship of "Notes."

Professor John L. Heller, who has done yeoman service as editor of this important department, was appointed editor of the *Transactions of the American Philological Association* at the meeting of that society in Cincinnati in December. He has therefore felt quite reasonably that, in view of his larger commitments, he should resign as editor of "Notes." While Professor Heller's withdrawal from this office causes us no little regret, at the same time we rejoice that TAPA will benefit by his careful diligence, broad interests, and devotion to scholarship in the widest—never in the narrower—sense. *Macte Virtute!*

But his place in the ranks of the editors of THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL will be suitably filled, for we have persuaded Professor Oscar E. Nybakken of the State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, to assume the editorship of "Notes." Professor Nybakken is eminently qualified for this responsibility, and, in addition, is deeply interested in the essential problem of relating good scholarship and good teaching. We are gratified, too, that Iowa is represented among the editors, for, by tradition, its state university has given much both to the Classical Association of the Middle West and South and THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL.

Memo: henceforth contributions to "Notes" should be sent to Professor Oscar E. Nybakken, State University of Iowa, 111 Schaeffer Hall, Iowa City, Iowa.

At this point, it may be expedient to clarify a few points in regard to "Notes" and the style of THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL. The editors are currently engaged in preparing a style-sheet (for the basic draft of which we are indebted to Professor Heller), and in due time we hope to present it to our prospective contributors. Here we may give a brief forecast of some of the main points.

In general, "Notes" should not run over 1,500 words (about two pages in the JOURNAL) and should be devoted to the exposition of a single point. A "Note" should be objective in character.

Footnotes should be gathered at the end of the "Note," and be numbered consecutively.

Roman numerals are to be avoided. Use Arabic numerals unless confusion may be created (in any event, clarity is the ultimate aim), but use Roman numerals in the text as in the case of Book iv, Chapter ix, when these are written out in full.

Unless a specific philological point is being argued, transliterate single Greek words or short phrases, and translate longer Greek passages into English. Greek may be used freely in the notes.

Translate quotations from foreign languages, other than Latin (Latin is not a foreign language in THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL), into English.

Double-space all material, and allow ample margins at top, sides, and bottom.

A MEMORIAL TO A GREAT AMERICAN HUMANIST
WHO TAUGHT AND SPOKE THE LIVING LANGUAGE
OF PLAUTUS · CICERO · ST. AUGUSTINE · ALCUIN

SCRIPTIS BONAMICVS ACTENSIS QVONDAM DISCIPVLVS

EDVARDI CANARDI RANDI

LAVDATIO FVNEBRIS

EXSTINCTUM est lumen litterarum classicarum clarissimum, efflante domi suae a. d. v Kal. Nov. MCMXLV Eduardo Canardio Rando.¹ Anno MCMI Monacho Boiorum regressus ubi ab universitate Doctoratu Philosophiae exornatus erat, continuo facultati Harvardianae ascriptus et anno MCMIX professor pleno iure factus vitam Canta-

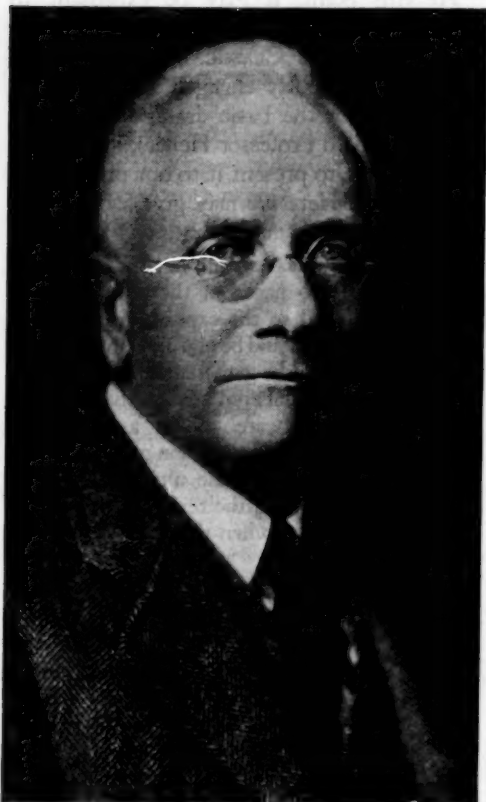
brigiae in aulis academicis degit omnem, nisi quibus temporibus ad alias universitates per commutationes vocabatur.

Aliquot post annis ad celsissimam sedem honoris ac dignitatis professoriae apud Harvardianos accessit cum professor is qui "Pope" dicitur linguae Latinae merito nuncupatus est. Quo audito, cum ad eum gratulandi caussa scripsissem: eum quem homines pro pontifice optumo maxumo sermonis Latini diu haberent merito ad Sedem Papalem esse promotum, rescripsit sermone Medii Aevi usus benedictionem Papalem.

Magister Comis atque Aequus

AT AB INITIO ingenia discipulorum aura humanitatis suae suscitans ita informavit ut e fontibus sapientiae haurientes ad usus hodiernos quae hauserant tanto scitius applicarent. Hoc effectum est quia non pro magistro linguae demortuae se habebat sed usque vigentis. Neque ingenium per annos consenuit sed potius ita vixit ut exemplo discipulos ad nervos pro virili parte contendendos et pensa vel optume solvenda excieret. Quod non modo suoapte studio in eos transferendo sed et aequitate efficiebat.

Mos eius ferebat, dum classem arte Latine scribendi erudit, orationes discipulorum excellentissimas atque suam ipsius interpretationem in tabula atra exarare, nullo adiecto nomine, ut sine respectu scribentium, re affatim disceptata, quae esset optuma, libere diiudicaretur. Cum ipse iudicio universorum praecellere soleret, aiunt olim, cum cuncti una eandem voce elegissent orationem, quae quidem eius non erat, ultro esse confessum sese a discipulo esse victum.



Bachrach Photo

E. K. RAND

Atqui quamvis comis esset neque morosus, negligentiae nunquam veniam dedit, nam siquis in vitiis pravoque sermone perstaret, verbis haud ambiguis enuntiabat quae notae forent iterationem secuturæ. Cui dicto nunquam audientes discipuli non erant.

Nostra classis litteram "j", incertum qua de caussa, magistro autem praecipue odiosam, affectabat. Cum nos semel, bis, ter monuisset, ratione allata cur esset mala littera, et perstaremus, edixit scripta nostra, adhibita postea hac littera, nihili aestimatum iri. Protinus periit studium in eam litteram neque audeam etiam hodie eam proferre.

At cum olim me nescioquid in classi recitare vellet, forte "instare," littera "i" brevi, pronuntiaveram. Is minime reprehendens, verum docendi caussa interfatus, Cicero, inquit, "i" litteram ante "ns" et "nf" esse producendam dixit.² Ita animus eius comis nos movit ut cum multis post annis eum locum legerem, ob oculos magister ad mensam sedens nobis exadverso eius verba haurientibus versari videretur. Hodieque dum haec scribo plus quadraginta annis exactis vocem eius exaudire videor.

Epistulae ad Discipulos

NEQUE eius discipuli universitate relictæ neque is eorum immemores erant. Lubentissimo animo ab eis epistulas accipiebat et dabat. Multi Cantabrigiam reversi primum omnium eum anquirebant. Eorundem, quos quidem cognoverim, siquando convenirent, in ore versabatur. Praeterea siquando per colloquia palam fiebat adesse qui eo magistro usi erant, ei velut vinculo amicitiae consociati sunt. Necnon et universitate pridem relictæ, laudibus ab eo acceptis, perinde delectabantur quam cum apud eum studerent. Quidam salutationem, cui scribens addiderat: Latinissimo omnium discipulorum, maxima superbia prae se ferebat.

Neque in exili gyro litterarum quae a Catullo ad Horatium floruerunt, opera aspernatus aliorum saeculorum omnium versatus est neque a rebus hodiernis commemorandis vel a verbis novis, modo eis opus esset, adhibendis abhorrebat. Sic Ciceroni momenti nova esse rerum novarum facienda nomina

aut ab aliis transferenda³ obsequebatur. Quo factum est ut eo eloquentiae concinnitatisque progrediretur ut, ubi alii si Latine quid dixissent molestias audientibus aspersissent, is quidem cum voluptate audiretur etiam Latine nescientium. Porro cum in mediis caerimoniis ad eloquendum exsurgeret, tantum aberat ut corona gemeret ut auris potius erectas praeberet nequa syllaba intercideret canora. Quem ad modum pseudo-Donatus de Vergilio scripsit, sic de nostro magistro dicere licet: eum pronuntiasse maxima cum suavitate et lenociniis miris et eosdem versus eo pronuntiantes bene sonare, sine eo inarescere quasi mutos.

Studia et Honores

BOSTONIENSIS, patre verbi Divini ministro Congregationali qui quidem postea ab ea ecclesia desciscens et in Anglicanam receptus ecclesiam in urbe, cui Anglice Watertown nomen, condidit, scholas publicas ibi frequentavit; deinde dum victum quaerit, gradum Baccalaurei in Artibus et anno post Magistri Artium ad Universitatem Harvardianam consecutus est; denique aliquot annis exactis in Seminario Theologico Anglicano Cantabrigiae et ad Universitatem Chiginiensem ubi vice magistri praelectorisque functus est et primum illi studio, unde per annos tantum famae ei demanavit: Classical Culture in the Middle Ages, sese deditit. Monacum Boiorum exinde profectus Doctoratum Philosophiae reportavit. Postea gliscentem claritudinem inter eruditos totius orbis terrarum subsecuti sunt honores delati ab universitatibus Americanis, Anglicis, Scoticis, Hibernicis—incertum se magis honestarent an eum—et ab Italia unde insigne "Commendatore della Corona d'Italia" accepit et a Francogallia, ubi quod culturam ingeniumque Francogallicum Americae eximio modo pandissent, item uxore simul honorata, "Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur" factus est. Praeterea multarum societatum eruditaram socius fuit non modo in terris supra dictis sed etiam in Suecia et Belgio et Germania. Mirum igitur ni idem aliquot societatibus Americanis praefectus esset.

Neque honores eo annos emerito intermit-

tebantur, nam, cum supremum obiit diem, in eo erat ut Universitas Parisiensis eum diplomate honoratura esset, quod tamen cum mors praevenisset praeter consuetudinem postumum delatum est.

In Academia Americana Romae docuit et ad Universitatem Californiensem praelectiones ex munificentia cuiusdam Sather institutas atque ab eius nomine dictas habuit. Ad Institutum quoque Studiorum Medii Aevi in urbe Toronto Canadensium praelector fuit.

Opera et Scripta

A PUERO medullitus religioni deditus et totam orbitam litterarum Latinarum prosecutus litteris inferioris aevi unde cepit multum fructus voluptatisque, quae quidem tot alios vitiis sermonis offensos praeterierunt, animo alacri nec temere incubuerat. In numero quoque eorum erat qui Academiam Americanam Studiis Medii Aevi Promovendis condiderunt. Praeses fuit primus, tum editor, denique perpetuo Latine orator. Eisdem studiis hisce annis Guasintoniae in Aedibus Dumbarton Oaks in instituto studiis Byzantinis dedicato multam dicavit operam.

Idem erat qui gnarus a philosophis Graecis Romanisque atque scriptoribus clarissimis Medium Aevum originem culturamque duxisse nexus retexit. Nihil certe ei plus famae tribuit disserendo de "Classical Culture in the Middle Ages."

Rebus quoque reconditioribus multum laboris ac sudoris insumpsit. Palaeographiae erat simul studiosissimus, simul peritissimus. Imprimis autem ei erat cordi scriptorium quod ab Alcuino Caroli Magni praeceptore Turonibus fundatum novam scripturam per omnem Europam emisit. Qua de re duobus libris editis momentum aere perennius sibi exegit.

Ne plura: quas res tangebatur, sive quid inerat illecebrarum, sapidiores ab eo redditae sunt; sive natura aridae erant, tantum iniecit suci ut discipuli non modo erudirentur sed voluptatem etiam caperent. Cum de scriptoribus saeculorum inferiorum eloqueretur, tam mire eos interpretatus est, tantum eis afflavit leporem ut verbis in memoria audientium insidentibus studium eorum legendorum usque adhuc restet.

Inter haec omnia agenda calamus eius perraro otiosus erat. Libellos et magna opera plus ducenta identidem edidit, quae omnia stilo concinno elegantique composita salibus facetiisque scatebant ita ut res graves aridaeque si ab alio tractatae lepidae prodirent.

Villam Horatii incunabulaque Vergili inter itinera faciendi indagavit. Libelli quibus haec itinera descripsit quasi carmina soluta sunt. Etiam si ratio iudiciumque inquisitoris minime latent, exstant tamen gaudium indagacionis et amor poetarum qui eum ambo moverant.

Longum est indicem scriptorum pandere. Satis sit dicere eum in vastitate litterarum Latinarum esse longe lateque spatiatum; quicquid tangeret, situ vetustatis depulso ad delectationem hominum nostri saeculi illuminationemque prodisse. Servius denique de quo Propertianis fere verbis Fama susurrat:

Cedite Romani Scriptores, cedite Graii,
Nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade,

cui operi hisce annis pro parte virili incumbibat, mox e prelo exhibit ultimum eius manus opus.

Vir Humanissimus

AT NON studiis tantummodo continebatur. Inter virtutes enim eminebat humanitas. Ut hominem definiret humanitati deditum, fertur etiam atque etiam protulisse illud Terentianum:

Homo sum; humani nihil a me alienum puto.

Itaque frequentius hominum ubi laeto animo ab omnibus accipiebatur immisceri semper lubebat. Concilio Classico Bostoniensi quam saepissime aderat, salibus eius Atticis qui ibi ex ore prosiliebant memoriae ceterorum diu inhaerentibus.

Siquando percubuerat eum alicubi adfuturum, eo maior solito concursus, omissis rebus prius susceptis. Olim praeses Collegi Sanctissimae Trinitatis, Remsen Ogilby, annuntians doctorem ad collegium quodam die esse dicturum, rogavit num eodem die cena nostrae Societatis Latine Loquentium haberi posset. Respondi posse. Sociis autem certioribus factis apud nos doctorem cenaturum, nunquam maior caterva mensas nostras stipavit.

Sive haec memoria tenebat sive ipsius natura efficiebat ut ea ultro sequeretur, repraesentavit illud Ciceronianum:¹ itaque, nisi ea virtus, quae constat ex hominibus tuendis, id est, ex societate humani generis, attingat cognitionem rerum, solivaga cognitio et ieiuna videatur, itemque magnitudo animi remota communitate coniunctioneque humana feritas sit quaedam et immanitas. Ita fit ut vincat cognitionis studium consociatio hominum atque communitas.

Bonus Civis et Verbo et Re

UT CICERO etiam atque etiam aiebat boni civis esse rei publicae servire, ita is exemplum illius boni civis non modo verbo sed et re praebuit. Hinc plane factum est ut quod multos populos bene noverat quodque quo tenderent penitus perceperat, primus inter primos staret qui nostrates ad Angliae Francogalliaeque clade belli nefandi ruentibus subveniendum hortarentur, nam quantumvis pacem foveret atque a bello abhorreret, etiam maiori odio erat iniustitia et barbaries et crudelitas quae per orbem terrarum furentes lumina doctrinae vitaeque humanioris extinguiebant.

Pius et Christianus

SIC PALAM est eum ex studiis optimum quidque sibi ascivisse atque deteriora sprevisse. Vitam eius pertractanti in memoriam redigitur ille apud Sanctum Hieronymum locus ubi per somnium ab angelo incusabatur tanquam Ciceronianus, non Christianus esset. Is autem valde Christianus erat neque amor studiumque erga scriptores paganos eum ab officiis religione impositis avocabat, immo studium augebat. Olim nobis dixit secundum regulas Universitatis classis esse die Cinerum habendas, id quod sese molestissime ferre; si cuius autem moribus repugnaret adesse, sese, cum ipsum adesse necesse esset, absentiam non esse animadversurum. Ita Christianismus semper e vita elucebat ut cum inde non unguem transversum discederet, nihil quod

dicebat quodve faciebat vel morosissimum difficillimumque exasperare quiret.

Ut pater olim ab ecclesia Congregationali ad Anglicanam desciverat, ita ipse a partibus ubi sacra simpliciore ritu fiunt desciscens cum partibus catholicis eiusdem ecclesiae se conglutinavit et Ecclesiae Adventus Bostoniensi in Vestiariis qui dicuntur fuit.

Hic addere licet, cum puri sermonis fautor esset, si quid in ecclesia Latine recitabat, minime laudator temporis acti putidus, ecclesiastico more et modo pronuntiabat.

Sermo Ultimus

QUANDOCUNQUE Bostoniae eram, amarum erat vel reapse occasio amissa eum non videre. Cum igitur anno ibi forte essem, telephonomum domi esset. Ancilla respondens negavit aut eum domi esse aut ubi esset sese scire. Latebras eius indagare frustra conatus me domum eius contuli expectaturus dum veniret. In horto sedens sub arbore opperiebar, cum subito ex hypogaeo emergens, en, inquit, tun' aderas! Cum eum ad saepem reficiendam adiuvissem, consedimus ad sermocinandum. Dum inter nos sermo varius seritur, —id quod minime suave erat audire—cor male habere dixit. Hoc quod obiter dixit, non tanti feci quanti debui. Eo autem deficiente anno post diem suum obiit.

In mensa iacentia et formam chartulae qua amicos Natali Domini salutaturus erat et adumbrationes operum sibi propositorum moriens reliquit. Quanquam annos apud Universitatem emeritus erat, an unquam muneribus vel Deo vel hominibus perfuncta esse sibi visa esset illa anima candida?

Deus quem venerabatur in pace requiescenti duit eos convenire, uti speraverat Socrates moriens, quos vivens foverat, atque colloquiis veterum sapientium frui.

ANNOTATIONES

¹ Sic ipse passim in litteris ad familiares.

² Cic. Orator. 159.

³ Cic. Acad. Post. 1. 7. 26.

⁴ Cic. de Off. 1. 44. 157.

LANX SATURA

Quidquid agunt homines,
votum timor ira voluptas
gaudia discursus, nostri
farrago libelli est.

Patton and Caesar

"**N**OW about Georgie Patton and Caesar," said the Old Soldier, with the air of a seasoned conversationalist who is working his way around to something good.

You will recall that at the time of General George S. Patton's regrettable and most unfitting death, the newspapers told how a correspondent had once asked him about Julius Caesar. Patton's reply was said to have been, characteristically, "Caesar? Why that guy couldn't have made colonel on my staff!"

We asked the Old Soldier about this.

"Now about Georgie Patton and Caesar," he began. "Patton was a very, very able soldier. But nobody seems to remember Caesar started being a soldier in middle age. It's all very well for Alexander to pursue with ferocity, and move fast, and all that. Even Hannibal—also a military man from birth—wasn't a pursuer and fast mover. Bibracte was Caesar's first battle, untaught, with only Alexander and Hannibal before him in the front rank of strategists, without military schools and so on. It's a wonder he did as well as he did. Proof of his genius . . .

"Napoleon, of course, had all the great soldiers to study. No one knows, I believe, a devil of a lot about Genghis Khan. He was a skilful cavalry raider, and apparently an excellent man in logistics. But so far as I can find out, he was still a slash-and-cut man with overpowering Mongol hordes. Certainly I think it is fair to say he contributed little to the art of war. Gustavus and Frederick are better soldiers . . .

"With all due respect to Georgie—throughout the army he is 'Georgie'—his remark was one of those smart-aleck affairs designed for a laugh. Just to show that Georgie was so good he didn't need one of the world's greatest on his staff. He might have made the same remark at that time about Gustavus or

Frederick. Actually, Georgie was saying that he wouldn't want on his staff (at the lowest estimate) the sixth ranking soldier in all history, and by the judgments of many, the foremost man in all history when taken in all his characters—soldier, orator, diplomat, politician, statesman, grammarian, calendar reformer, and goodness knows what else. A simple absurdity, Patton's remark . . .

"Yes, Georgie as a soldier was darn good. But his public utterances—not so reliable. You recall a couple of times he put his foot in it. That remark about the Nazi party being like our parties. So, what Georgie did, well-nigh perfect. Georgie speaking, that's another story . . .

"One other thing: fast conquests don't last, slow ones do. Georgie stopped because he ran out of gas, and if the Germans had known it and faced about, it might have been serious . . .

"One more thought: if Caesar had fought in some other place than France, it probably would have been different. Subconsciously Georgie probably wanted people to infer, 'Caesar took six years to conquer France, and Georgie six months . . . ' ."

The Ultimate Compliment

RECENTLY we received what we prefer to regard as the ultimate compliment on the present style of THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL. It was in the form of a check made out payable to the "Classy Journal."

The matter-of-fact young lady who handles our book-keeping and subscription files maintains, somewhat crassly, that no tribute was intended, that the whole thing is another one of those typographical errors we talk about so much. This is a trend of thought we prefer not to encourage; we always enjoy compliments, and we particularly enjoyed this one. Compliments that are negotiable at the bank are all too rare.

NOTES

Contributions to this department in the form of brief objective notes should be sent direct to the editor, Oscar E. Nybakken, State University of Iowa, 111 Schaeffer Hall, Iowa City, Iowa.

CHARACTER PORTRAYAL IN PLATO'S *LYSIS*

THE interpretation of Plato is difficult because of the many aspects of his genius. He was a philosopher and educator; he gave advice on politics; and he was immensely interested in ethics. One aspect of Plato's genius, which has much to do with the interpretation of his dialogues, has received insufficient notice in modern scholarship—viz., the poetic. The poetic aspect does not mean that he wrote in verse, although tradition records that he composed dithyrambic, lyric, and tragic poetry. The poetic refers rather to the use of poetic expression, poetic figures, and so forth. This feature in Plato scholars have underestimated, although they have not entirely overlooked it.

THE THESAURUS IS SAFE

One of the greatest undertakings of classical scholarship, the compilation of a complete thesaurus of the Latin language, has been under way for many years in Munich. The hundreds of thousands of references—if not millions—filed for this project were of course subject to the hazards of war during the bombing of Munich.

We believe our readers will be interested in the following report contained in a letter written from Munich by John L. Caskey, presently Major, regularly of the University of Cincinnati, to Professor Eugene Tavenner.

"The entire library and working material of the T.L.L. were safely removed from the Maximilianeum before the bombings and were stored at the Benedictine Monastery at Scheyern, near Pfaffenhofen, some 30 miles north of Munich. They are still there. The rooms in the Maximilianeum formerly used for work on the T.L.L. were fairly well ruined by bombs, but no irreparable damage was done to the work itself—a few sets of duplicate cards, etc., were lost. The project now has one semi-heated room at its disposal in the Maximilianeum. The work is not in progress at present, but the staff want to bring the material from Scheyern and start as soon as possible. They will need more space and more heat. . . ."

However, one feature of the poetic in Plato which has received hardly any attention is character portrayal. This neglect is surprising, since Aristotle does make indirect reference to it in the *Poetics*. After stating the scope of the treatise, Aristotle relates that epic, tragedy, comedy, and other forms are all imitations. They differ, he asserts, in means, objects, and manner. Instrumental music, says Aristotle, employs harmony and rhythm as means; dancing uses rhythm apart from harmony. Referring to an unnamed class of literature which employs mere prose or verse (*τοῖς λόγοις ψιλοῖς ἢ τοῖς μέτροις*), he affirms: "For we would not be able to give a common name to the mimes of Sophron and Xenarchos and the Socratic dialogues, nor if anyone should compose imitation in trimeters or elegiacs or any other such meters" (1447b9-13).

It is significant that Aristotle parallels the Socratic *λόγοι* with the mimes of Sophron and Xenarchos as *μίμησις*. That imitation, in his opinion, comprises primarily character portrayal Aristotle reveals a few lines later when he writes: "Since the imitators imitate men acting, and since men in action are necessarily either excellent or petty (for characteristics almost always follow these alone; for all men differ in characteristics through vice and virtue), the imitators imitate men who are better, or worse, or even such as we are, as the painters do; for Polygnotus usually portrayed men who were better; Pauson, men who were worse; and Dionysius, men who were similar to us" (1448a 1-6).

Does character portrayal play a part in Plato's dialogues or do the statements of Aristotle lack foundation? To what extent character portrayal influenced the writings of Plato remains to be determined. In the *Lysis* however, it is linked closely with the philosophical tenets and conclusion of the dialogue.

Many scholars see in the *Lysis* mainly traces of youthful fancy. But there is a definite accomplishment in this dialogue. Among the theories held in Plato's day on the nature of friendship, there were two chief opposing schools of thought. One held that likes attract; the other, that opposites attract.¹ In the *Lysis* Plato shows that neither of these theories really explains friendship. In other words, neither theory covers all the cases of friendship, and either theory is deficient when held to the exclusion of the other (214a-216c). He now combines these two by stating that the neutral (i.e., that which is neither good nor evil) is the friend of the good through the presence of evil (216c-218c). This definition is much better than either of the two opposing theories of his day. But another point remains to be considered, viz., the degrees of friendship. This is illustrated by Plato's distinction between friends who are friends for the sake of another friend, and the true friend, for the sake of whom all other friends are friends and who is not a friend for the sake of some other friend (218c-220b).

As Plato, however, saw the deficiencies of the other two theories, he also realized that the definition he propounded was not final. For if evil were the cause of friendship, there would be no friends if evil should not exist; yet there would still be desire. Since one is a friend to what one desires, there would still be friends even if evil did not exist. The final thesis, although not uncontested, is that the "related in nature" (*τὸ φύσει οἰκέον* 222a) is the friend, provided that the "related" is not the same as the "like."

It is significant, in view of his final description of friendship, to note how Plato has drawn the natures of the characters whom he portrays as friends; for in portraying the characters of the *Lysis* he adheres to the concluding principle of the dialogue that neither likes nor opposites, but the "related," are friends.

Lysis and Hippothales, whom he depicts as the beloved and lover, are related in the characteristic of modesty. Plato indicates the modesty of Lysis in the remark of Hippothales that if Lysis does not come to join the dis-

course of Socrates and Ctesippus (i.e., if he is too modest), Menexenus will call him (206d). While Socrates and Ctesippus are discoursing, Lysis constantly turns around to look at them and, although eager to join them, does so only after Menexenus has entered the court and has seated himself beside the two older men.

Hippothales, the son of Hieronymus and lover of Lysis, shares with him the characteristic of modesty. Hippothales first reveals this aspect of his nature by blushing when Socrates asks him who is his beloved (204b). He further indicates this characteristic when he denies having composed prose, verse, and song in praise of Lysis, and then, after admitting such compositions, has Ctesippus tell Socrates about their content (205a-b). His modesty also caused him to object to Socrates' charge that by praising the family of Lysis he is really praising himself (205d). Hippothales again illustrates this feature of his character by hiding from Lysis during the discussion between Socrates and the two youths (207b), and near the end of the dialogue by turning all sorts of colors (222b).

Lysis and Menexenus, whom Plato portrays as youthful friends, have related personalities in that both possess the spirit of youthful rivalry. Lysis shows youthful rivalry when he requests Socrates to relate the previous discussion to Menexenus on his return within the palaestra (211b). The reader may deduce that Lysis wishes Socrates also to show Menexenus that he is still hindered in many respects by his parents and that, since he is still in need of a teacher, he is not yet wise and should not be proud. Plato illustrates the spirit of rivalry in Lysis and Menexenus by the statement of Menexenus that the questions, who is the elder, nobler, and more beautiful, are matters of dispute between them (207c).

Menexenus and Ctesippus are related in their contentious natures. Ctesippus, the teacher (211c) and uncle (206d) of Menexenus, shares with him a contentious nature. Plato portrays this characteristic through Ctesippus' description of the extent to which Hippothales has deafened his hearers' ears with the praise of Lysis in prose,

verse, and song (204d), and through his description of the content of Hippothales' compositions (205c). Also the hesitancy of Socrates to continue the discourse with Menexenus in the presence of Ctesippus indicates that Ctesippus is a person who might easily be aroused (211c). The contentious nature of Menexenus is clear from Lysis query: *ἢ οὐκ αἰσθα ὅτι ἐριστικός ἐστιν;* (211b).

Since the characters whom Plato portrays as friends in the *Lysis* have related natures, it is clear that he depicted them and their relation to one another according to the concluding description of friendship. The evidence of the *Lysis*, then, substantiates the claim of Aristotle's *Poetics* that Plato gave attention to character portrayal. The importance of this feature of Plato must not be overlooked in interpreting his dialogues, for he may have

gauged even the approach of Socrates to a problem and his arguments about it according to the character of Socrates' opponents in a specific dialogue.

ROBERT GEORGE HOERBER

Bethany College
Mankato, Minnesota

NOTE

¹ This condition is evident from many statements of Plato and other writers. One may recall the passage in the *Phaedrus* (240c): *ἡλικά γάρ δὲ καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος τέρπειν τὸν ἡλικά—ἡ γὰρ οἶμαι χρόνον ἰσότης ἐπ' ἴσας ἡδονὰς ἀγούσα δι' ὁμοιότητα φιλίαν παρέχεται.* In the *Lysis* (214a) also we see that many poets and scientists claimed the like was a friend to the like, while others contended that opposites attract (215d). The same condition is illustrated in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* (1155b), where he says that some hold that friendship is based on likeness, while others claim it is based on unlikeness.

THE ORIGIN OF THE PRE-JULIAN CALENDAR

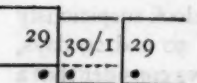
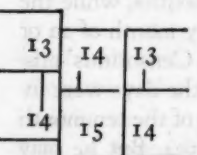
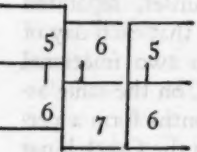
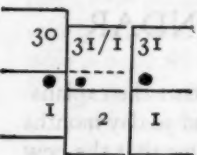
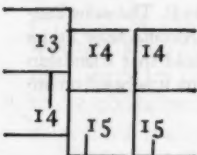
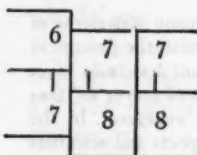
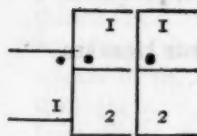
*Lunam, et stellas in potestatem noctis:
quoniam in aeternum misericordia eius.*
Vulg. Psa. cxxxv, 9.

CENSORINUS,¹ Macrobius² and Solinus³ tell us that March, May, July and October of the ten-month calendar had 31 days, while the other six months had 30, and that from this calendar was derived the pre-Julian calendar. True, the agreement⁴ of these late writers may mean merely that these figures came to them from the same source, possibly Varro, though perhaps in different ways. But they are safer guides than Plutarch, who, leaving undecided the question whether Numa added or transposed January and February,⁵ says that the Romulean calendar contained 360 days, divided into months whose length varied from less than 20 to more than 35 days.⁶ For not only does Professor Rose tell us that Plutarch "is weak in matters relating to the calendar and seems to have used Varro here little if at all,"⁷ but these ill-assorted months, like the Italian months mentioned by Censorinus,⁸ cannot belong to the lunar sequence of which the pre-Julian months are the final form.

I have previously shown⁹ that the explanation of Censorinus' 31-day and 30-day months is simplicity itself, if we assume that the new crescent, appearing after sunset, separated one month from the next, so that each day of transition was divided into two fractional days. I shall now show that, on the same assumption, the Romulean months form a perfect connecting link between the Greek lunar months and the pre-Julian months, while the origin of the short intercalary month of 22 or 23 days loses all its mystery. Censorinus' mistake lay in thinking that all the days were integral,¹⁰ so that the 295 days of the ten-month year seemed to him to be 304. But he may have followed his source.

Months of 31 and 30 days look suspiciously like Greek lunar months of 30 and 29 days, and we have the clue when we consider that a series of 30 (or 29) Greek days¹¹ would end on the 31st (or 30th) Roman day.¹² A Greek lunar calendar, or its exact equivalent, left on Roman (or pre-Roman) days the ten finger-prints which we call the ten-month calendar, and the pre-Julian months, in turn, are nothing but these same finger-prints, a little blurred.

A B C



The accompanying diagram represents March and April, the blocks with which the year was built, as they appear in the three calendars. Unimportant days are omitted. (A) is the Greek calendar, whose days began at or shortly after sunset,¹³ and a dot denotes the appearance of the crescent on the first. A vertical line from sunset to midnight denotes the first quarter moon on the seventh of the long month, and on the sixth of the short one, and the full moon is denoted by a line from sunset to sunrise on the fourteenth of both months. These are the most correct astronomical dates for the phases, if the true new moon falls two (Greek) days before the first, as A. Mommsen found that it must generally do if the crescent is to appear on the first,¹⁴ on which appearance, theoretical if not actual, my whole explanation depends.

(B) is the ten-month calendar, whose days begin at midnight. But the months, and their first fractional days,¹⁵ begin at sunset, as is indicated by dotted lines. The evening hours, and therefore the lunar phases, have the same dates as before, except that the full moon of the fourteenth Greek day belongs equally

to the Roman fourteenth and fifteenth days. So we assign it to the fourteenth of the short month, and to the fifteenth of the long one. And it is natural to assign it to the evening rather than to the early morning of the fifteenth. In fact, the disregard of the moon at

the last quarter may be due to the inconvenience of the early morning hours.

In (C), the sunsets that separate the months fade out before the Roman midnight, the fractional days coalesce, and we have the pre-Julian months.

With Censorinus' figures, as interpreted above, we can solve the problem of the short month intercalated after the Terminalia. The ten-month calendar had two intercalated nameless months, which were afterwards named January and February.¹⁶ Now in our Greek series of alternately¹⁷ long and short months, the moon's last quarter falls on the 21st day¹⁸ of the twelfth month, the 346th day of the Greek year. But the moon at this phase shines after midnight, and therefore on the 347th integral Roman day. Assuming that the nameless January had as many days as its pre-Julian successor, we add 29 to the 295 days of the ten-month calendar, and find that the 347th day was the 23rd integral day of "February," which we will call the Terminalia. This day, on which fell the last striking lunar phase of the twelve-month year, was an ideal time for a lunar calendar to end, since the number of days remaining before the appearance of the crescent could not be constant.

The nameless months, then, became more important and acquired names, and the year came to have twelve months and 355 days. This last figure was natural, if I have correctly assigned a complete day to New Year's Day,¹⁹ since the 354th Greek day ended after sunset on the 355th Roman day. Moreover, the 354-day Greek calendar was a little too short, so that in about three out of eight years²⁰ the crescent would not appear till the 356th Roman day. And some of the earlier appearances would be veiled by clouds, so that the 356th day would have done well enough for New Year's Day, if the error had not been cumulative.

This over-long year resembled a snake swallowing its tail, since the New Year's crescent appeared nearer and nearer to the Terminalia. It is clear that frequent lunar intercalation was out of the question with a 355-day year, so that a limit was probably set, beyond which the error should not run, and at

which intercalation would take place. And one quarter of the lunar month was the most obvious limit. The very weakness of this method of intercalation, which was its failure to secure close correspondence with the moon, was not only natural with such a year, but itself serves to explain how the Romans were weaned from their lunar calendar. So the change to the solar year, and the amount and date of the intercalations are all explained at the same time. For when the crescent appeared on the 24th of "February," the moon was one quarter of its monthly period ahead of the calendar, since at this season the crescent usually appears on the first Roman day after the new moon. An error greater than this being intolerable, 22 or 23 days, three quarters of a lunar month, were intercalated after the Terminalia, in order to bring the moon an even month ahead of the calendar. The intercalary Calends coincided with the appearance of the crescent, and, when the moon and calendar were again in step, the closing days of "February" followed. When the calendar was strictly lunar, whole lunar months must have been intercalated,²¹ when necessary, to keep the year in reasonable accord with the sun, and this practice was presumably kept up with the year of 355 days. But the new lunar intercalation of 22 or 23 days inevitably acted as a lunar and a solar intercalation simultaneously, so that the Romans could not help discovering its usefulness in the latter role.²² Hence the pre-Julian year,²³ with its intercalation of 90 days in eight years, in mistaken imitation²⁴ of the Greeks.

JOSEPH DWIGHT

Hyannis, Mass.

NOTES

¹ *De Die Natali*, 20. 2 ff.: Annum vertentem Romae Licinius quidem Macer et postea Fenestella statim ab initio duodecim mensum fuisse scripserunt: sed magis Iunio Gracchano et Fulvio et Varroni et Suetonio aliisque credendum, qui decem mensum putarunt fuisse, ut tunc Albanis erat, unde orti Romani. hi decem menses dies CCCIII hoc modo habebant: Martius XXXI, Aprilis XXX, Maius XXXI, Iunius XXX, Quintilis XXXI, Sextilis et September tricenos, October XXXI, November et December XXX; quorum quattuor maiores pleni, ceteri sex cavi vocabantur. postea sive a Numa, ut ait Fulvius, sive, ut Iunius, a Tarquinio XII

facti sunt menses et dies CCCLV, quamvis luna XII suis mensibus CCCLIII dies videbatur explere... certe ad annum priorem unus et quinquaginta dies accesserunt: qui quia menses duo non explerent, sex illis cavis mensibus dies sunt singuli detracti et ad eos additi, factique dies LVII, et ex his duo menses, Ianuarius undetriginta dierum, Februarius duodetriginta... denique cum intercalarium mensem viginti duum vel viginti trium dierum alternis annis addi placuisset, ut civilis annus ad naturalem exaequaretur, in mense potissimum Februario inter terminalia et regifugium intercalatum est.

² *Saturn.* 1. 12. 3 f. and 1. 13. 1 ff.

³ 1. 35 f. For Numa's year, 1. 37 f.

⁴ Prof. Rose tells us, in *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL* 40 (November, 1944) 68, that "Our best Latin authorities... differ a little as to just how many days each month had." I am unable to understand this statement, or the one below (71 and note 16) that Feb. 23 is a. d. vi kal. Martias. A correct explanation of the origin of the term bissextile is given by W. Ramsay, *Ovid, Selections for the Use of Schools* (Oxford, 1886) 318.

⁵ Numa, 19. 5.

⁶ Numa, 18. 1.

⁷ *The Roman Questions of Plutarch* (Oxford, 1924) 24, footnote.

⁸ *De Die Natali*, 22. 6.

⁹ *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL* 39 (May, 1944) 487-490 and 40 (November, 1944) 103 f. But (see my former "Note," 488) the arrangement of long and short numbered months now seems to me dependent on solstice and equinox. Also I misunderstood Dr. Geiger. For interval between new moon and crescent, see references in F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, II (Leipzig, 1911) 318.

¹⁰ *De Die Natali*, 22. 5: At civitatum menses... dies ubique habent totos.

¹¹ Ginzel, *Handbuch*, II, 299-301, says that the Greeks reckoned time by the moon during the whole historical period, that there are already traces of the lunar year in Homer and Hesiod, and that a lunisolar year demands days that begin with evening.

¹² L. Ideler, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, II (Berlin, 1826) 46, says that we have no reason to doubt that the Roman day always began at midnight. Ginzel, *Handbuch*, II, 163, is not so certain. He draws a distinction between a ritual and legal day that began at midnight, and a popular day that began with morning.

¹³ Or rather with the first starlight—"der ersten Sternenschein." So A. Mommsen, *Chronologie, Untersuchungen über das Kalenderwesen der Griechen, insbesondere der Athener* (Leipzig, 1883) 56, who quotes Ovid, *Fasti* 4. 535 f. But Ginzel, *Handbuch*, II, 302, prefers the end of the astronomical twilight, when the fainter stars appear.

¹⁴ *Chronologie*, 78: In den Tagen des Homer und auch noch lange nach Homer werden wohl die Monate durchweg mit dem sichtbaren Neumonde angefangen

(Please turn to page 283)

HINTS FOR TEACHERS

Edited by Grace L. Beede
University of South Dakota
Vermillion, S. D.

"RANDOM THOUGHTS"

Classical Place-Names in the Current News

H. J. HASKELL,¹ editor of the *Kansas City Star*, shares a good idea with us in the following item, which was accompanied by this introductory and explanatory note: "For many years I have had a sort of miscellaneous personal column in the *Star*, called "Random Thoughts." Frequently I use classical material like the inclosed, applying to places in the current news. I hear a good deal from these references from high-school students as well as from older people. So I judge there is considerable interest in such material, and I thought perhaps teachers might find the idea helpful." Two such items appeared in the edition of Sunday, January 28, 1945.

We are mildly but justly reproached by Glenn Swogger of the Kaw Valley State Bank, Topeka, for neglecting to give Ravenna its proper classical setting, although it has been in the news a long time. Mr. Swogger inquires whether it is not the town the Roman epigrammatist Martial wrote about, where water was at such a premium 2,000 years ago as to give point to this verse by Martial as translated by Paul Nixon:

There's a sly old fox at Ravenna
Who cheated me of late;
When I ordered a whisky and water
He gave me whisky straight.

The reader may wonder, as we did, how far the translator departed from the original Latin to make such a modern bit of verse. Well, it's the fifty-seventh epigram in Book III, and it reads literally, "A shrewd innkeeper recently cheated me. I asked for diluted wine and he sold me pure wine."

Another epigram has the same point. "I prefer a cistern at Ravenna to a vineyard, as I can get a much better price for water (than for wine)."

Two thousand years ago Ravenna was a sea-coast town built on piles in a marshy district on

the Adriatic coast some thirty miles south of the Po. The region silted up and the city is now six miles from the sea, connected with it by a canal.

The ancient writers comment on its disadvantages—its muddy canals (like those of Venice), instead of streets, crossed by bridges and ferries; its lack of fresh water; its swarms of insects and the croaking of its frogs. Julius Caesar frequently visited there and the town was his headquarters when he made his dash across the Rubicon. The emperor Augustus made it the base for his Adriatic fleet and enlarged the harbor until it was capable of accommodating 250 warships. A celebrated lighthouse marked the harbor's entrance. The harbor was three miles from the city, with which it has connected by a causeway.

The place was so secluded and so well defended by marshes and streams that when the emperors fled from Rome early in the fifth century, they made Ravenna the capital and thereafter it was an important city. It has some of the finest medieval and early Christian antiquities. In the history of early Christian art of the fifth to the eighth century Ravenna is the most important center in Italy next to Rome.

Lord Byron lived in Ravenna from June, 1819, to October, 1821, and a square, the Piazza Byron, and a small hotel were named for him. Another even more eminent visitor was Dante, who spent the last years of his life as an exile in Ravenna, where he died in 1321. His tomb, a square structure with a dome, adjoins the Church of San Francesco.

H. J. HASKELL, Editor

The Kansas City Star

NOTE

¹ Friends of the Classics are indebted to Mr. Haskell for his two books, *The New Deal in Old Rome* and *This Was Cicero*, and were pleased by the splendid review they were given by the Camden Professor of Ancient History at Oxford, Hugh Last, in the *Journal of Roman Studies*.

STREAMLINED TRANSLATIONS

THE editor of THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL in the November 1945 issue translates, with his tongue in his cheek no doubt, Quintus Cicero's famous reply to the Nervii "non esse consuetudo (sic!)¹ populi Romani accipere ab hoste armato condicionem" as "Nuts!" Granted that this is shockingly ultra-modern and shamelessly condensed, the idea nevertheless is there. Is there justification for this practice in the classroom?

I have been experimenting with these streamlined versions and have found them very successful in vitalizing translation assignments. The students love them because they are more meaningful. I would like to indicate a few submitted by my Cicero students:

LATIN	ENGLISH VERSION
dominandi cupiditate	lust for power

mollibus sentiis	appeasement
adulescentulo audaciam	juvenile delinquency
et libidinem	
in hostium potestate	in enemy hands
tumultus	coup d'état, putsch
legatos sollicitatos esse	the statesmen were
	high-pressured
solutione impedita	bankruptcy
labefacta motu concidant	panic followed by depression

CHARLES I. FREUNDLICH

Forest Hills High School
New York City

ED. NOTE

¹ That was the Boner of the Month, Mr. Freundlich, and, so far as our information goes, you are the only reader who spotted it without prompting. N.J.D.

GREAT BOOKS OF GREECE AND ROME

A New Approach to the Classics in College

IN view of changing emphases throughout the country—in particular, at St. John's College, at Chicago, and more recently at Harvard—college teachers may be interested to know of a course which I have been offering at Tufts College for the past few years. I call it "Great Books of Greece and Rome"; and, merely as an elective course, it has attracted considerable attention, even during these war years when the thoughts of most undergraduates have been otherwise diverted. We have studied not more than three of the classics each term, and I am convinced that such concentration is most useful. By reading one or two authors very thoroughly in some good translation, these students learn, at least in a limited sense, to master a classical text; and somehow they get centered in antiquity in much the same way—not, of course, to the same degree—as students of Latin or Greek. There are other advantages too: you have the whole text before you, and it assumes the aspect of what they call at Oxford a "set book,"

a great work of art to be understood from beginning to end, to be appreciated and respected.

This course is offered in place of a survey course which I used to give, and with which I felt certain real dissatisfactions: the survey was necessarily fragmentary and episodic, more dazzling perhaps, but a good deal less instructive. Furthermore in the interests of completeness, I was obliged to teach lyric poetry in translation; and this, I believe, is quite impossible: an English'd Horace or an English'd Sappho is simply nothing at all like Horace in Latin, or Sappho in Greek. Epic poetry, drama, history, and philosophical works, with their larger themes, contain elements which can be moved with some facility from one language into another, by a Murray at least, a Mackail, or a Jowett. So far, the following works have proved most suitable for this sort of study: the *Iliad*, Thucydides, the Socratic dialogues, the *Aeneid*, and Tacitus. This year I shall try Cicero's *Offices* and Boethius for the first time.

The influence of such study is, of course, difficult to assess; but I think that in general the effects have been good. There is sometimes an insensitive girl who finds Tacitus "funny" or a puzzled boy who thinks Plato "queer"; but it has been very encouraging to find students, some of only mediocre talents, absorbed in Homer's story, arguing the issues of the Peloponnesian War, or expressing indignation for the fate of Socrates. The term we studied Vergil, Latin texts were circulating in the class; and on one occasion it was rumored that certain quiet, inoffensive lads were apprehended learning Greek.

During the war, texts have been difficult to secure, and I have grown very weary of one publisher's form letter, with its curt directive: "Re-order in sixty days." However, by scouring the bookstalls of Greater Boston, we have always been able to find sufficient copies of our book in some cheap edition. In any case, the paper shortage is improving; and, who knows, our conscientious publishers may soon detect a reason for the publication of some inexpensive classics. *Servate pios!*

VAN JOHNSON

Tufts College
Medford, Massachusetts

ILLINOIS CLASSICAL CONFERENCE

Bloomington, March 22, 23

FRIDAY, MARCH 22, 6:30 P.M.

Dinner at the Illinois Hotel.

Music by the Illinois Wesleyan Music School.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: Miss Dorothy Harrod, Kewanee High School.

ILLUSTRATED LECTURE: Rev. Claude H. Heithaus, S.J., Marquette University, "Outstanding Examples of Sanity in Greek Art."

SATURDAY, MARCH 23, 9:00 A.M.

A Trilogy of Great Ideas from Greece and Rome.

"The Concept of Democracy: Athens," Charles J. Adamec, Knox College.

"The Concept of a World Order," Florence Brubaker, Oak Park and River Forest Township High School.

"The Concept of International Law: *Ius Gentium*," Kevin Guinagh, Eastern Illinois State Teachers College.

SATURDAY NOON, MARCH 23, LUNCHEON

SATURDAY AFTERNOON, MARCH 23, 2:00 P.M.

A Trilogy of Great Ideas from Greece and Rome.

"The Atomic Theory," Clyde Murley, Northwestern University.

"The Immanence of a Rational God: Stoicism," Philip De Lacy, University of Chicago.

"The Sanity of Greek Art," Rev. Claude H. Heithaus, S.J., Marquette University.

Program Chairman: Norman B. Johnson, Knox College.

CLASSICAL CONFERENCE AT CORNELL COLLEGE

Mt. Vernon, Iowa, March 29: 30

Professor Mark E. Hutchinson announces a third Classical Conference at Cornell College on the theme "Language and General Education."

CURRENT EVENTS

Lowell Thomas, Morgan Beatty, Urge the Study of Latin

FIVE RADIO COMMENTATORS ON LATIN

PROFESSOR A. M. Withers, of Concord College, Athens, West Virginia, who is well known to readers of THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL for his active championing of the teaching of Latin, sends us the following report:

I wrote the following letter to seven radio commentators:

"Of the many questions confronting those concerned in education, none is more pressing than what fundamental training is most important for high-school students.

"My personal feeling is that the present plethora of 'vocational' things, the more and more lessons in civics and government, the newly enthroned social sciences, and the ambitious 'general' courses to cover all the world's assorted knowledge, have hardly a place in any human being's strictly first necessities. They consume time better employed at the secondary-school stage of life upon language, the reasonings of elementary mathematics, and history, to mention only these in the positions of priority.

"Much time is squandered also in excessive play, in inter-school games, school clubs (aping the colleges), and school dramatics, the last usually farcical, or at best merely funny, and leaving no intellectual residue.

"Boys and girls from all the walks of life learn all about school *esprit de corps*, but only a very few of them emerge from high school with trained strength enough for continuance of self-development in afterlife by reading.

"The majority of students come to college very poorly formed in English language, unprepared therefore for any genuine consideration of literature, and hamstrung as far as the acquisition of modern foreign languages is concerned. Asked the meaning of 'reactionary government,' or 'passive resistance,' they give all varieties of answers except the right ones. These are samples of hundreds of displays of distressing word ignorance I have noted.

"It is not alone more straight and direct English that is needed in the language line in the lower schools. Unrelieved study day in and day out of the grammar and word-stock of the language we speak is too monotonous. Endeavors to impart them to (in this case naturally) reluctant minds is killing to teachers, especially to the better equipped among these, whom it is essential for the public welfare to spare and protect. As a result there has come a lowering of English-language bars, the teachers of English perforce acquiescing. Now the college freshmen commonly say they 'don't get any grammar teaching in the schools,' a statement undoubtedly exaggerated in most cases, but none the less symptomatic of a general condition. As to words, most students show effective use of few outside the language of the street, the athletic grounds, the card-table, and the kitchen.

"The few who have had Latin, in the schools where this subject has enjoyed some prestige, and who have studied it with design and fair honesty, claim that there is where they secured most (some say *all*) of what they actually know of English grammar (which means, of course, in a larger sense, feeling for style, and incipient capacity to write).

"Here might ensue a long story. But I will only say that one has to have some insight into the structure of another language in order to become conscious to the point of strong interest and efficiency in regard to the facts of one's own. And Latin is the best auxiliary language for the high school, being basic as it is besides for other great languages commonly studied among us, as well as incidentally fundamental in law, medicine, philosophy, theology, and elsewhere. A modern language will not serve as well, because it is practically necessary to teach it, at least to beginners, without too many of the opera-

tions of dissection.

"But to come now to the main purpose of this letter. I should like to engage 'umpires' to whom our more or less 'jangled and out of tune' world of education will listen. My unaided words go by like the idle wind; and my unaided ideas are regarded as coming from interest in my own special professional stock-in-trade—from self-defense and self-interest, in a word.

"To whom will the mass listen more readily or more respectfully than to our best radio commentators, those with the easy command of abundant English, and with wide-ranging knowledge of the most important, varied, and realistic kinds?

"Please therefore send me some brief word. Have you studied Latin? (Of course you have. I never fail in my guesses on this point.) Do you believe in Latin as a practically indispensable culture and discipline looking to any sort of distinction in the writing and speaking of English? Do you believe that Latin should be offered and encouraged, even actively propagandized, by all who have to do with secondary-school plans and policies?

"Mr. John Kieran wrote me several years ago, in answer to a letter similar to this: 'I am with you all the way.' Mr. Franklin P. Adams wrote: 'How a teacher can hope to teach French, or Spanish, or English, without Latin I don't know.' (*School and Society*, September 26, 1942, 271-272).

"If your love do not persuade you, let not this letter.' But I should greatly like to have word from you, whether your sentiments correspond with mine or not."

Here are the responses received (two did not answer):

I can't for the life of me answer your question honestly. I had four years of Latin—which I loathed. Today I cannot read the simplest Latin phrase. I am sure that the study of Latin did something to my mind, stretching its sense of grammar and meaning. I can't swear it, but I believe I should have had just as good command of English if I had been spared the wrestling with Latin. But I wish I could! You see I am a poor witness.

But I am all for students having a sound classical foundation, meaning by that, however, not an acquaintance with Caesar's Gallic Wars, Cicero and Virgil, but some real approach to classic thought. That is the training to think which seems lacking in many students today.

RAYMOND SWING

I fear you and I do not roll in the same direction. I hated Latin, studied it only because I had to, and got a bad mark in it. I have thoroughly enjoyed studying German, French, and Spanish, all of which I know either well or reasonably. But I also feel that, with reference to a modern language, it is more important to learn how to speak it than to learn how to write it. I agree that we waste too much time in watching games, but I disagree that dramatics are a waste of time. Obviously I believe in the presentation of plays that have literary merit. On the whole, I believe in the educational maxim "most profit grows where is most pleasure ta'en." But I am, in no sense, an authority on education, teaching, or what constitutes a desirable curriculum.

H. V. KALTENBORN

Yes, indeed, I agree with you. I wish now that I had taken a great deal more Latin. In fact, I still would like to go beyond Latin and study both Greek and Sanskrit. At any rate, I am all in favor of Latin, and wish some way could be devised of getting our boys and girls to appreciate it, and enjoy it.

LOWELL THOMAS

Thank you for your most interesting letter. I entirely agree with you that too many of us, as would be equally true I presume in any other country, have far too little consciousness of the essential meaning of our language, and far too little ability to use it. I am afraid, though, I cannot agree with you that the study of Latin is in itself a solution. I did study Latin for several years. I cannot in honesty say I believe it made the slightest impression upon me, or had any effect in subsequent years upon my feeling for the English

tongue. Study in the classic languages, in the familiar, post-Renaissance style, I frankly regard as a waste of time for most citizens of the modern world. I have long hoped, however, that it might occur to some educator to devise a simple course in the basic origins of our speech which would instruct students in the fascinating story of how languages have grown and from what they have come—without exposing boys and girls of no classic inclination whatsoever to the utter weariness of awkwardly translating such strikingly undistinguished works of literature (in my admittedly prejudiced view) as Caesar and Plautus.

But—though I am sure I have been less than no comfort to you—thank you again for sharing with me your point of view.

JOHN W. VANDERCOOK

My greatest handicap in my chosen profession of writing and speaking is that I am not a master of Latin.

MORGAN BEATTY

It is no part of my intention (Professor Withers resumes) to take any of my correspondents hotly to task for their views on the matter propounded. I recognize that their experiences and mine have been of quite different nature. And besides it would be as absurd as it would be unfair to judge all the sides and facets of their thought from a few short lines.

Noting the sentiments of two of them I could only laugh as I reflected how my well-laid confidence had "gone a-gley." But I was not cast down. There have been other exponents of plentiful English, such as Winston Churchill, Will Durant, and William A. Neilson (probably also John Dewey) who have refused to believe in a practical indispensability of Latin as auxiliary to English. But they are all three full of Latin, and of other languages besides. They cannot talk away that fact. It is noteworthy at least that I was not wrong in assuming that my addressees possessed something of this language in their equipment. (And Mr. Swing, I choose to think, is surely over-modest on this score.)

Mr. Kaltenborn's "English, French, and Spanish" I should regard as an equivalent substitute auxiliary in the training for appreciation and understanding of English, though I should personally still like to have some Latin for a general base for all four languages. The Germans, French, Spaniards, and other Europeans display for Latin a practical devotion that has to do in large part with purely linguistic purposes relating to the several vernaculars.

The "simple course" suggested by Mr. Vandercook is not a novelty, and is good as far as it goes. As applied to the understanding and use of English, however, it is a skin-remedy for an internal disease. In other words, it is another of those resorts to spoon-feeding to which so much of contemporary education tends, in the paternalistic effort to lift all forms of weariness from the minds of American boys and girls. What has become of our pride in Longfellow's "toiling upward in the night," or of Edison's "infinite capacity for taking pains?" And how about the youth with the "sad brow" and "excelsior" on his lips? And the general conception of mounting "to the summit round by round?"

The idea that we can somehow relieve our offspring of the rather frequent pains inevitably involved in intellectual pursuits always calls up in my mind the words from *Home on the Range*, "where never was heard a discouraging word." Just there is our main trouble in primary and secondary education as in other more domestic phases of child-upbringing. As a people we do not hear nearly enough "discouraging words"; and as a direct consequence waste our time, energies, thought, and substance upon pleasures, instead of respecting decently "the unforgiving minute."

Our embryo scientists, destined though too many of them are to be inarticulate in writing through inattention in high school to language matters, pass through an otherwise exacting apprenticeship. But we do not discard any science because it is difficult. And similarly, that Latin may bring weariness to many ought not to be a deterrent to its study in a mentally virile nation.

THE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY PLAN FOR THE CLASSICS

Ed. Note: This is a report of an address given before the Department of Classics of the Missouri State Teachers Association on November 9, 1945, in St. Louis, by Dean Wm. Glasgow Bowling of the College of Liberal Arts of Washington University. We are indebted to Dean Bowling, and to the editors of School and Society, in which the report first appeared, for permission to reproduce it here.

I AM grateful to the Department of Classics of the Missouri State Teachers Association for an opportunity to discuss the place of the classics in the new A.B. curriculum at Washington University. Briefly, the new liberal-arts program makes the study of the Greek and Latin language optional but stipulates that all students must complete six units of work in the area of classical culture.

Before I consider the details of this new arrangement, I might explain the old requirement which the new plan abrogates. For a period of years, all freshmen in our College of Liberal Arts were required to complete six units in Greek, Latin, or mathematics; and for those who did not elect mathematics under this option, there was the related requirement of six units in philosophy. The placing of an equal emphasis upon Greek, Latin, and mathematics in the freshman year, with an oblique glance at philosophy, was in accordance with the theory that these subjects provided sound training in mental discipline and were, therefore, deserving of a protective academic tariff.

Obviously, there was much discussion about the place of the classics in the liberal-arts curriculum when the problems of the A.B. program and the problems of the eight preprofessional curricula administered by our college were considered last fall and winter by the Committee on Courses and Curricula. In general, it was the point of view of this committee that college students had a considerable interest in the civilization of Greece and Rome but that this interest had not always been satisfied by the conventional

approach to the study of Greek and Latin. As adopted by the faculty, after spirited debate, our new plan for the classics placed the emphasis on a broad cultural understanding of the contributions of ancient Greece and Rome to the civilization of our times.

The plan for the classics stipulates that the student must complete six units in classical culture. There is, however, a wide range of elections within the requirement so as to provide for a variety of individual interests and capacities. The student may fulfill this requirement in any of the following seven ways:

- 1) By completing 12 units in the Greek or Latin language.
- 2) By completing 6 units in the Greek or Latin language in a designated course beyond the elementary level.
- 3) By electing a course on the sophomore level in Greek and Roman literature in translation.
- 4) By electing a course on the sophomore or junior level in the cultural heritage of Greece and Rome.
- 5) By electing a course on the junior level in Greek and Roman philosophy.
- 6) By electing a course on the junior or senior level in the history of Greece and Rome.
- 7) By electing a course on the junior level in Greek and Roman art.

It might be explained that the student who takes 12 units in the Greek or Latin languages to fulfill the requirement in classical culture also fulfills automatically another of the A.B. requirements—that of two years in a foreign language. It is possible that further elections may be offered in time, but all new courses in the category of classical culture must satisfy the criterion of either a wide knowledge on the lower level of study or a specialized knowledge on the upper level, so that, in either event, the ultimate goal is an intelligent and integrated understanding of the civilization of Greece and Rome.

The enrollment figures in the classics for the current semester are interesting and instructive.

The course in Greek and Roman literature in translation, offered through the Department of Greek, has an enrollment of 49 students; the course in the cultural heritage of Greece and Rome, offered through the Department of Latin, has an enrollment of 63; and the course in Greek and Roman philosophy, given under the jurisdiction of the Department of Philosophy, has an enrollment of 46. There are nine students in Greek and Roman art, given through the Department of Art and Archaeology; and there are 18 students in the course in the history of Greece and Rome, offered through the Department of History but conducted by a member of the Department of Greek.

Table I shows the distribution of students in the language courses in Greek and Latin during the first semester of four representative years.

TABLE I
DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS IN LANGUAGE COURSES IN
GREEK AND LATIN

	1945	1944	1943	1941
Total enrollment	1,320	1,028	1,421	1,321
Enrollment in first-year Greek	26	63	52	53
Enrollment in Greek beyond first-year level	30	12	10	15
Enrollment in first-year Latin	32	32	38	54
Enrollment in Latin beyond first-year level	22	23	35	41

As the figures in Table I make clear, the new plan has not given a quietus to the language courses in Greek and Latin, but, rather,

these courses have commanded a respected place in the curriculum without benefit of a protective academic tariff. The increase in enrollment in the Greek courses beyond the first-year level was a surprise, but the decrease in first-year Greek was expected. In the past, certain of the students in first-year Greek were fugitives from Latin or mathematics: that is, they were students who had completed two years of Latin or mathematics early in their high-school career, were afraid to elect the continuation courses in these subjects in college, and had, as a result, no alternative other than to enter Greek. Under the new plan, those now taking first-year Greek, or first-year Latin, are doing so of their own free will and are obligated to take a second year in the subject if they expect to satisfy simultaneously the foreign-language requirement as well as the requirement in classical culture. As the registration statistics reveal, those who fulfilled the one-year requirement in Greek or Latin under the old plan did not carry on in any large numbers into the classes of the sophomore, junior, or senior years, although the carry-over in Latin has consistently been larger than in Greek.

To date, our new curriculum is in general operation for freshmen only. A larger enrollment in the classics may be expected when the plan is in operation for all.

THE ORIGIN OF THE PRE-JULIAN CALENDAR

(Continued from page 275)

haben (phänologische Numenien); aber die Conjunction muss dann in der Regel nicht dem Ultimo, sondern dem Tage vor Ultimo entsprochen haben. Cf. Macrobius, *Saturn.* 1. 15. 5: Romulus . . . initium cuiusque mensis ex illo sumebat die, quo novam lunam contigisset videri.

¹⁸ But I give New Year's Day a complete day, which helps my argument, and seems justified by the importance of the day and the discontinuity of the year.

¹⁹ Servius, *Georg.* 1. 43. Cf. Censorinus, *De Die Natali*, 20. 1: Omnibus tamen (sc. gentibus) fuit propositum, suos civiles annos, varie intercalandis mensibus, ad unum illum verum naturalemque corrigere. Two months hibernated, so to speak, in the ten-month calendar—but not in the twelve-month.

¹⁷ The finger-print analogy does not hold perfectly here.

¹⁸ Since this is the 22nd day after the previous true new moon.

¹⁹ See above, note 15.

²⁰ Cf. Ginzler, *Handbuch*, II, 238.

²¹ L. Ideler, *Lehrbuch der Chronologie* (Berlin, 1831) 281.

²² The months ceased beginning at sunset and the 23rd integral day of February lost its lunar significance when the pre-Julian numbering was adopted. So the change to a solar year may have been made at this time.

²³ Really a solar year. See Ramsay, *op. cit.* (above, note 4) 330.

²⁴ Hence, perhaps, the 23rd day in alternate intercalations. There may have been only 22 days in the original lunar intercalation, while half 90 is 45.

LATIN TEACHERS ARE IN GREAT DEMAND
AND VERY FEW ARE AVAILABLE

THE PLACEMENT OF LATIN TEACHERS

A survey of teacher placement bureaus shows that, although the total demand for Latin teachers has diminished since the peak of the war emergency, the need for Latin teachers, especially in combination with English, is still strong.

In some areas, notably the central and northern states of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, the demand has greatly increased, even for teachers of Latin as a single subject. The available Latin Majors, and even Minors, from graduating classes in colleges does not fill the demand.

Encouragement should be given promising high-school students of Latin to continue it through as many years as possible in school, and to continue or resume further study in college.

THE PRESENT survey was undertaken at the request of the Committee on Educational Policy of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South. A shortage of Latin teachers, more sensed by casual observation than supported by statistical data, prompted the Committee to endeavor to determine whether such a shortage was real, and if so, how extensive through the area covered by the Association.

The Survey of Placements

LIMITATION of time and resources made it inadvisable to attempt an actual count of Latin teachers engaged by high schools throughout the 30 states and Ontario. Neither were figures available from State Offices of Education that would give an accurate picture of the situation. It was decided therefore to canvass placement and appointments bureaus in colleges and universities throughout the area, and by means of a questionnaire—made as simple as possible consonant with the information desired in order to encourage replies—to obtain data upon which to construct a general outline.

While it may safely be assumed that the figures submitted by each placement bureau represent the actual numbers of calls received

by that bureau, it is obvious that when calls for Latin teachers, recorded at several bureaus in the same, or approximately the same, area are added up, the resultant sum, though made up of individual truths, is itself no longer a truth. It needs no trained statistician to observe that if Podunk High School, needing a teacher, registers a call with both the Placement Bureau at Siwash and the Appointments Bureau at dear old State, there will be two calls for Latin teachers in the total figures where in reality only one was needed.

Exaggeration caused by such duplication cannot be avoided in data of this sort. Neither, unfortunately, can it be measured, and we know not how many calls may be thus duplicated nor how often. Fortunately, however, it can be ignored, for in this survey we are not concerned with totals of positions filled or crying for an occupant. It is rather the relative number of calls over a period of years, and the relative ability of the bureaus to fill the calls which will determine the surplus or the shortage. In all interpretations of figures submitted in the report, comparisons and percentages are much more important than total numbers.

These duplications, even *terque quaterque*, will persist in all data, including those all-

important figures on the number of positions which bureaus were unable to fill for lack of a qualified candidate. Position A, filed with both Bureaus B and C, but filled by Bureau C, will be recorded as an unfilled position by Bureau B. Furthermore, since so many of the positions required combination teaching, there is no evidence to show that it was the lack of Latin rather than of the other subject or subjects which made it impossible to fill. However, the law of averages favors the lack of Latin rather than the other subjects, since it will be clear later that Latin usually combines with very commonly-taught subjects rather than with the orphans. Furthermore, there are two other factors which correct to a great extent all of these duplications and inaccuracies: (1) the increasing inability of the bureaus to fill positions involving the teaching of Latin, and (2) comments and observations made by those who filled out the questionnaires in which Latin teachers specifically are lamented as almost unobtainable.

Questionnaires Answered

QUESTIONNAIRES were sent to 200 college or university placement bureaus; 131 replies were received (65.5%). Of these, 32 (16%) had no information, either because Latin was not taught at the college in question and therefore calls for Latin teachers were not ordinarily received at the bureau, or because no records had been kept at the bureau (8% each). This last group as often as not represented colleges which do teach Latin, and therefore the failure to receive information from them merely reflects their practice of not keeping records, and in no way implies that Latin was not called for. The same can be said of the 69 (34.5%) from which no replies were received. Latin is taught and appointments are made at many of these; there can be no implication that figures, had they been received, would have in any way altered the general picture which we shall see emerging. A casual glance over the names of those bureaus which did not answer will confirm the observer in the belief that replies received are just as representative of the truth as the whole number would have been. The failure

to reply had nothing to do with Latin teachers or Latin placements, but was no more than a very understandable impatience with the ubiquity of questionnaires and a quite justifiable decision that the best place for them is the wastepaper basket. Therefore this is as appropriate a place as any to register my gratitude and appreciation to those bureau directors, deans, and chairmen of Departments of Education, *et al.*, who took time and trouble to complete and return the questionnaire to me.

The survey is therefore based on the 99 (49.5%) returned questionnaires which contained positive and helpful statistics or other information. These came from 29 States (all except South Carolina); information comparable to that from the United States was unobtainable in Ontario.¹

The Questionnaire

THE questionnaire asked for information for the years 1941, 1943, and 1945 on each of the following points:

- I. Total calls for Latin teachers.....
 - A. For Latin as a single subject.....
 - B. For Latin Major combined with
 1. English.....
 2. French.....
 3. History.....
 4. Other (please name).....
 - C. For Latin Minor combined with (same list).....
- II. Calls for which you had no qualified candidate.....
- III. Calls for Latin teachers came mainly from what type of school?

City.....	Town.....
County.....	Parochial.....

The years 1941, 1943, and 1945 were chosen in order to obtain as large a spread as possible (6 years) with a minimum of figures. It was felt, also, that the 1941 data would not yet show the impact of the war, since most appointments were made before October 1, and relatively few teachers would have left their positions before those months, before December 7, or even before December 31. 1941 may therefore fairly represent the status which Latin held 17 years after the Classical In-

vestigation, unaffected by any unusual circumstances. 1943 represents the dislocations of war, uncertainty and change. 1945 (or in some cases 1944, since '45 figures were as yet unobtainable from some bureaus) represents a trend toward stability; if not a full post-war picture, at least a partial redress of the unbalance of the previous years. At present writing (January, 1946) it is too early to expect *a priori* a static condition, if indeed such may, or should, be expected, but the statistics will indicate pretty clearly that the situation is readjusting itself.

The Pattern of the Total Statistics

THE TOTAL calls for Latin teachers regardless of combination or other factors for the three years chosen were: 1761, 1877, 1624 (gathered from 89 bureaus in 26 states at which comparative or estimated figures were obtainable; 10 others with incomplete figures are omitted).

The increase from '41 to '43 must be attributed to the war. It represents need for replacement of those who left their positions for other tasks, armed or civilian. The increase, less than 1% overall, ran as high as 17% in some of the 13 states in which an increase was reported. Corresponding decreases in 9 states, and virtually no change in others, leaves the total change relatively small. The decreases occurred mainly in the South (Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Arkansas), near South (West Virginia), or far West (Utah); elsewhere the figures remain about the same, or increase. The total increase is so small that it looks as if, were it not for the war and its concomitant turnover, an overall drop would have occurred. The drop in 1945 (16% from 1943, nearly 10% from 1941), at a time when the unsettled war situation at least partially exists, is disturbing in that it lends credence to the interpretation of the 1% 1941-43 increase as merely an interruption, because of war, of what would otherwise probably be a gradual drop from 1941-1945. But the picture is not wholly dark, for in some states the '45 figures are above the '41, and even the '43 figures:

Georgia	17	19	27
Indiana	95	96	98
Kansas	53	55	70
Kentucky	31	31	38
Mississippi	0	4	25
Texas	49	42	66
Wisconsin	57	66	66

There appears to be little geographical significance in this list, but we shall return to it later in another connection where it will have considerable importance. That the increases here reported are not to be attributed solely to local continuance of wartime shortages, or confined to bureaus in those states which show an increase as a unit, is proved by many comments appended to the questionnaires from widely separated sources.

"More calls for Latin in past 5 years than in previous years." (Ohio)

"We have been unable for several years to fill positions that were vacant. Had to give negative answers." (Virginia)

"Calls for teachers have been disconcertingly [sic] frequent in recent years." (West Virginia)

"There has been an increased demand for Latin teachers in the last three years." (Wisconsin)

"We have had 25-30 calls for Latin teachers each year, and have but one or two candidates. Last year we had no candidate." (Michigan)

"23 calls and only one candidate available." (Minnesota)

Even from bureaus handling relatively few calls, the lament continues:

"In recent years we have been unable to fill the few calls for Latin teachers." (Mississippi)

Finally, if the following letter represents the practice of other bureaus also, it has a distinct bearing on the 1945 figures.

"The data . . . apparently indicates a decrease in the demand for Latin teachers. We doubt if that is the case in our section of the country. [This Bureau] formerly circularized superintendents in small towns for vacancies. We do not do this any more because we have more positions than we can handle."

In other words, it is a teacher's market.

Latin as a Single Subject Increases

HERE the Latin teacher may expect the most discouraging part of this report, and in many questionnaires the figures did indeed

reflect the same pattern as in the total calls, i.e., a drop in 1945 even below the pre-war 1941 level with a war increase in between, or worse still, a steady down grade from '41 to '45. Reports from individual bureaus, especially the smaller ones, again and again repeated the pattern: 1-4-1, 2-4-2, 0-2-0, 0-4-2, 9-12-7, 4-4-2, 6-4-1, or in 31 reports: 0-0-0. It is nothing new to discover that the Latin teacher who teaches only Latin is a rarity to be found only in the city high schools. Even in 1935, of 1,342 Latin teachers in Ohio, only 14% spent full time in Latin.²

But this is to give only one side of the picture. The data from the questionnaires, considered in totals, tells a very different story. The calls for Latin as a single subject increased steadily from 1941 to the present: 75-119-151. This increase is not overall; it is very specifically and geographically limited. The steadily decreasing figures given before come mainly from the smaller bureaus; the larger university bureaus are the ones to which these calls apparently come. Twelve states show increases; their totals alone are 41-78-124. Elsewhere over the area the gradual decrease is apparent, for subtracting these twelve states, the figures for the remaining 19 are: 34-41-27 (but even this decrease is not truly representative of the facts. See below on dropping Latin from high-school courses). The eleven states with increasing calls include six of those listed above with increased total calls, and with five new ones form a fairly compact group of border and Middle-West states: Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Kentucky, Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, Minnesota, Wisconsin, to which may be added Georgia and Texas. Here is the block in which Latin is the strongest. The figures 41-78-124 represent reports from 38 bureaus, or more than one-third of the total bureaus reporting from 11 out of 30 states. As nearly as could be determined from the replies to Question III, these calls came from city and town schools. It is hard to believe that the mortality among city high-school Latin teachers has been so much greater in the last few years than previously. Perhaps a few have hung on longer because of the war shortage, but that is not enough to ex-

plain the increase. The most pessimistic explanation would be that where there have been one-and-a-half Latin teachers in the same school, when both died or retired, they were replaced with only one, and the Latin program thus actually reduced.³ Beyond these rather strained efforts to interpret conservatively and cautiously figures which seem too encouraging, the writer can only express pleasure at the situation, though not unmixed with alarm at the smallness of the numbers involved, even when increasing, and at the steady decline in calls in so many other states, including some which should rank with these eleven both in city population and in geography, notably Michigan and Ohio.

Latin Combines with Other Subjects

BY FAR the greatest number of Latin positions include, of course, teaching in other fields as well. The questionnaire endeavored to distinguish between Latin Majors combined with other subjects and Other Majors combined with Latin. This effort was, by and large, in vain. Many bureaus tacitly ignored the distinction; others stated that they made no such division and/or kept no records thereof. Among the dozen or more which could differentiate their calls, there seemed to be a slight trend away from the Latin Major combination toward the Latin Minor, usually with an English Major. This trend, though but slightly indicated, emphasizes the relegation of Latin, at least in the smaller schools, to the position of a weak sister.

Latin Minors Popular

THIS is an unfortunate tendency, for if there is any distinction to be made between the relative ability of a young teacher's major as opposed to minor—and I am very much afraid there is, to the detriment of the minor—it means poorer teaching of Latin, which can stand little more deterioration than it has already suffered. I would rather my children learned English from a Latin teacher, than Latin from an English teacher, and the sentiment mounts in intensity as one glances down the scale of various subjects that combine with Latin. The Latin Minor, with all

her faults and inadequacy of preparation, is a valuable individual, and increasingly hard to find. The disappearance of third and fourth-year Latin from many high schools, especially in the country, has caused thousands of students to spend the 12th grade, and frequently the 11th, without Latin. Entering college, few of these students venture to resume the study of Latin after such a gap, fearing the difficulty of recovery more than the longer course required in a new language. Even those who plan to be teachers from the day they enter college find themselves a year or two behind, unless they happen to come from a 4-year school. Hence the Latin Minor in college is becoming rarer. High schools offering only two years of Latin have brought this situation upon themselves by thus directly causing the shortage of Latin Minors. This lamentable situation was pointed out by more than one bureau in commenting on the difficulty of furnishing young teachers with a minor in Latin, e.g.,

"We have always had a good demand for teachers of Latin, especially as a minor in combination with English." (Illinois)

"May I say that it is my belief that the greatest problem which Latin has to face is the tendency . . . to offer only two years of Latin or to induce students to change from Latin to Spanish at the end of two years of study even though the four-year course may be offered in that school. . . . [A student] wished to offer four units of Latin, but her school . . . offered only two years. She is continuing the subject in college but of course finds it difficult because of the lapse of two years. I believe that this fundamental problem deserves our careful study." (Virginia)

Latin Majors Combine with English

UNFORTUNATELY this system equally affects the Latin Major, for few students know that they wish to teach early enough to rectify the evil done by enforced discontinuance after Caesar, and few pick up Latin again in college under the conditions described above. Majors and Minors alike must come from among those who are fortunate enough to have stuck to Latin in a four-year high school, because of, or in spite of, guidance. Consequently high schools are faced with an ever

decreasing supply of Latin Majors and Minors, and are often glad to accept anything that has two legs and can teach Latin.

"Latin minor would have been acceptable in all cases had one been available." (Texas)

"Willing to adjust subjects to suit the candidate. Latin teachers were desired regardless of other subjects taught." (Iowa)

"In 1944-45 we had 23 calls for Latin combined with other subjects. We had 6 candidates available with a Latin Major." (Nebraska).

"Twenty-five calls and had only one Latin Major in 1945." (Ohio)

And this bureau sent in additional material showing that more non-Latin majors ended up teaching Latin than did Latin Majors teaching other subjects.

Such combination teachers, whether Latin plus, or something else plus Latin, were in demand in large numbers all over the area of the Association. The combinations, here recorded *in toto* without major or minor distinction, followed a relatively set and familiar pattern. No matter where the bureau, how small or large the high school, the demand for Latin-English or English-Latin outnumbered all the others combined. French, which used to be a good second, has dropped to a poor fourth, and retains even this position only by virtue of a somewhat favored position in those states which touch the eastern seaboard (Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, also Mississippi and Louisiana). French is disappearing in proportion to the longitude west from Greenwich, and Spanish, the pet of the twentieth century, has replaced it, both as to second place and longitude, even outdistancing history (with social studies). Others trail along about as expected; the main combinations called for are:

	1941	1943	1945
English	893	983	906
Spanish	58	114	119
History (& SS)	138	141	80
French	92	69	53
Commercial (& Home Ec.)	52	42	32
Mathematics	47	30	41
Music	46	41	25
Phys. Ed. (Girls)	27	30	41
Library (usually with Eng.)	21	10	6
Science	9	9	14

I have not listed combinations of three or more subjects because fortunately, except in the smallest county and township schools, they are fairly rare. Any such combinations listed by the bureaus appear in the above lists by the subject first mentioned after Latin. The total number of these three-way calls is small enough, *deo gratias*, so that this plague of our elementary and secondary school system, the pedagogical jack-of-all-trades, was called for in a ratio of less than 1:10. Less than that would still be too many. This triple-threat man occurs more often with Latin Minors than with Majors, a fact which distressingly puts this type of Latin teacher in a very weak-sister position. But one large bureau sending in figures in great detail made an interesting study of the three-or-more subject teacher, and the results indicate a trend which it is hoped is widespread. In 1941, 53% of all calls were for three or more subjects, in 1943 72% (war emergency again), but in 1945 only 14%; yet the total number of calls increased steadily during the whole period. Another bureau, supplying teachers to smaller schools shows higher, yet diminishing percentages, 79%, 63%, 53% over the same span of years. And to relieve somewhat the strange incongruity of some of the combinations, it is comforting to note that most of the calls were for combinations that bear some semblance of natural relationship: English-Dramatics-Latin, Latin-English-Journalism, Latin-History-Social Science, Latin-English-Library. Very few spanned three wholly separate fields (Latin-Mathematics-Coaching), and fewer still called for four. *Dei Avertant!*

Latin Teachers Teach General Language

APPARENTLY there is as yet no such person as one who teaches General Language as a single subject. If there were, one would expect General Language to appear in the combinations with Latin. Not one was mentioned in any questionnaire. Nevertheless the course is growing and needs, above all, a teacher who is a master of an ancient language. Though in some schools it may have

cut into the language programs, it is nevertheless a genuine, if sometimes reluctant, tribute to the Latin teacher that she has been so frequently called upon to instruct in General Language. One unacquainted with Latin simply cannot do a decent job, and the teacher acquainted with Latin is likely to have a greater appreciation and understanding of the linguistics of other tongues and their bearing on English.

General Language has been mentioned here separately because of a situation which is topmost in the minds of all persons concerned with education today. It is too early yet to measure the impact which the Harvard Report on *General Education in a Free Society* will have upon secondary school curricula or upon the need for teachers thereof. But there is no escaping the probability that the proposals therein made for high-school curricula will exercise a strong influence along the lines laid down in Chapter IV. There it is recommended that one or two years of Latin or French be taught, perhaps as early as the 7th or 8th grade, and taught specifically to open an "avenue to . . . further humanistic study, and they should be taught with this intention alone" (p. 126). However this may affect the numbers of high-school teachers of Latin required in the future, it will certainly call for a much broader and more humanistic teacher than is ordinarily produced in the colleges today, and will make all the more necessary the breadth of approach which is the best feature of the combination teacher. The kind of teacher wanted for the high-school curricula proposed in the Harvard Report will not be found without raising to a much higher level the economic status of the average high-school teacher today; neither will she be found among those who have had a narrow and vocationalized training instead of a broad and liberal education; neither, in the final analysis, will she be found outside the ranks of those who cannot "draw comparisons, note etymologies, and in general improve [their] speech by fresh experience in putting words together" (p. 122). The words just quoted, though used by the Harvard Committee in another connection entirely, serve unwitting-

ly to distinguish and set apart the peculiar accomplishments which those who have studied and mastered Latin or Greek truly possess beyond all others. If the General Language of the future be patterned upon the Harvard Report, it is indeed as great a challenge to the teacher of tomorrow as the teaching of the General Language of the past has been a tribute. And the Latin teacher of the present, as well as the Latin student of the future, is a long step in the forefront of competition.

There IS a Shortage of Latin Teachers

THE PUBLIC is already well aware of the shortage of teachers in general. Several letters and some figures have been introduced into this report already which indicate the extent to which it has become difficult to obtain Latin teachers. It remains to analyze the information furnished by the bureaus regarding this shortage.

The situation could be further demonstrated by examination of the records of the certifying agencies of the various State Departments of Education. It has been a wide practice during the past five or six years to issue emergency certificates for high-school teacher to students who have completed only a part of the usually required course or number of hours for a minor in their teaching subjects. These half-trained teachers have been used to relieve the shortage at the expense, though through no fault of theirs, of the quality of teaching. It is to be hoped that this pernicious, if necessary, wartime practice is being, or will be, brought to an end promptly. In an attempt to determine the seriousness of the shortage of Latin teachers a request was sent to all Departments of Education in our area asking for the number of such emergency certificates issued during the past few years in comparison to regular or standard certificates. Unfortunately the practices of the Departments vary so widely both as to types of certificates and differentiation of subjects for certification (or lack thereof) that satisfactory data could not be secured. Only one state maintained a clear-cut distinction between certificates for Latin as opposed to

other foreign languages, and at the same time had the desired information on record. The figures provided by that state are as follows:

1941	179	standard	20	emergency
1942	218	"	16	"
1943	193	"	17	"
1944	137	"	33	"

Keeping in mind that this state also shows a steadily decreasing demand for Latin teachers despite the war, and assuming that no more Latin teachers in this state left their positions for armed service or war work than other teachers or than in other states, it is reasonable to conclude that the actual figures, if available from other states, would show an even greater trend in the same direction—decreasing supply.

Type of School

FINALLY, the answers to Question III on the questionnaire, though less complete than for any other part ("no records," "data not available") tell the same story. Forty-seven bureaus supplied sufficient information in both Questions I and III to make it possible to obtain percentages of unfilled positions for lack of a qualified candidate. These figures are so astounding in their size that several different factors must have contributed to produce them. It has already been pointed out that if a call is registered at several bureaus, and filled only by one, then, though the position is filled, the calls will remain unfilled on the records of the other bureaus. Some of the largest university bureaus were unable to reply to this question, and since they probably supply a large proportion of the desired candidates, the shortage in the smaller bureaus looms the larger. Some combination calls may have remained unfilled not for lack of Latin but for lack of some other part or parts of the combination; as one bureau stated: "unusual combinations" (Illinois). One bureau had a few candidates, but "they did not wish to teach in this part of the country" (Illinois). Allowing for all such causes and explanations, and reducing the following percentages by half, or even more, to account for duplications, they are still so large as strongly to reinforce the picture of

critical shortage throughout the country. Some bureaus noted that many smaller schools had dropped Latin because of shortage of teachers! Others reported calls from areas further distant than in earlier years. Minnesota reported calls from Wyoming and Utah, Virginia from Louisiana and Mississippi. The percentages of calls unfilled as reported by 47 Bureaus in 21 states are as follows:

	1941	1943	1945
Alabama	50	83	100
Arkansas	94	90	100
Colorado	66	69	73
Florida	80	94	100
Georgia	100	100	100
Illinois	32	46	47
Indiana	19	92	92
Iowa	93	97	95
Kansas	76	70	60
Kentucky	44	50	30
Michigan	74	97	86
Minnesota	100	100	100
Missouri		30	96
North Carolina			25
Ohio	88	82	90
Oklahoma	50	80	90
South Dakota	100	100	100
Texas	46	60	73
Utah	100	100	100
West Virginia	70	66	90
Wisconsin	67	40	57

These figures do not mean, of course, that all these calls went unfilled, but they do mean that many, many bureaus were hopelessly unable to meet the demands for Latin teachers. Even the sources with greater supply, and which individually reported much lower percentages, noted a steadily rising figure of unfilled positions. The relatively low percentage for Illinois, for example, is brought about by the evidently larger supply provided by the bureau at the University of Chicago, which left unfilled in these years only 0%, .02%, and 10%, respectively. But even here the increase is sharp in the last year. No wonder that the very disappearance of Latin from some of the smaller schools is itself caused, not by the loss of enrollment or the pressure of "practical" subjects, but by the shortage of teachers! The situation is still critical, and increasingly so. It may be summed

up in the words of some of the bureaus not before quoted:

"There is a shortage of teachers of Latin in all fields [i.e., combinations]. The Placement Bureau could place a great number of teachers of Latin if they were available." (Minnesota)

"Very few teachers available." (Colorado)

"Latin Majors with any combination can be placed at any time in all types of schools." (Ohio)

The survey inquired of a number of commercial bureaus, including several nationally known agencies, and from their courteous replies gained a similar picture. Their figures parallel those from the college bureaus, even to the rise in calls for Latin as a single subject.

Total calls	100	104	95
Latin alone	6	6	16
with English		60	57
Spanish		10	13
History		10	3
French		7	1
Others		6	4

No figures were available for calls unfilled, but from the smaller agencies serving a rural area a drop in Latin was noted, because of its disappearance from the small school curricula (see above), and from the larger agencies the comments confirmed the general shortage of candidates compared to calls.

The statistics in this report need little summing up. They and the numerous letters and comments quoted speak eloquently for themselves. There is a real need for Latin teachers and few are available to fill the bill. No one denies there has been a gradual diminution of numbers among Latin teachers during the last twenty years. This diminution seems to be still going on, but very slowly and in the reports of some bureaus, even the truth of this fact has been questioned. The greatest danger to the stability of the numbers of Latin teachers is the Harvard Report, and even in that the desirability of a Latin-trained teacher is undeniable even by the most prejudiced reader. The difficulty will come in that the teacher will have small opportunity to teach Latin. And her students, unless they determine at the eighth-grade level to continue Latin (a highly dubious hope) will have even a longer gap between

their school Latin and an opportunity to resume it in college. It is this gap that has all but killed Latin in so many colleges, and which in turn has reduced the number of available Latin Majors and Minors. It can only be mended by encouragement in high schools to continue Latin through the twelfth or at least the eleventh grade, and by sympathetic guidance of college freshmen to continue their Latin in college for a while at least—until they should find they need another language more. In colleges of education, where prospective teachers enroll, the study of Latin should be definitely encouraged as a very good string to have on a teaching bow. In colleges not specifically training teachers, but from which teachers may emerge, the same is true, and wherever any foreign-language requirement is still maintained, the entering freshmen with any idea whatever of teaching language should be encouraged to consider the continuance of what he already has a part, be it even only two years and two years ago, to fill the minimum of a minor at least. This guidance and these encourage-

ments can come in large part only from office advisers in charge of freshman schedules. By the time a student passes up his opportunity to continue Latin in college it is too late to reclaim him, and few who enter college already know then either their own wishes for a teaching career or the opportunities which await them. It is not only classicists themselves, sorely as they may need this wise advice, to whom the following excerpt may be addressed, but to the office adviser who fixes schedules for freshmen and to those who guide the choices of teaching subjects.

"In general little change in Latin trends. [Actually this Bureau recorded an increase]. The patient is in good health and in frequent demand. This is in contrast to the drop in French and German and the sharp increase in Spanish. I wish you classicists would do a more vigorous job of propagandizing and so furnish us with more people trained to teach Latin. We never have enough." (Wis.)

Dictum sapienti sat est.

JOHN N. HOUGH

Ohio State University

NOTES

¹ In Ontario prospective teachers obtain positions by answering advertisements in the local newspapers or in the Toronto dailies, which have a province-wide coverage. It is therefore impossible to get official statistics on the supply and demand. Before a person can teach secondary school he must procure a Certificate of Proficiency from the Ontario College of Education. But since direct application for teachers to this body is not the usual practice of School Boards, no usable data could be procured from it. A distinction is made among the various subjects which a teacher is qualified to teach; figures over the past five years show here, as in the U. S., a general decline in the total number of those qualified to teach Latin (along with other subjects) from 1941-1943: 364-311-247, then an increase in 1944 to 275 and in 1945 to 350. In addition to these combination teachers, there are Specialists (corresponding to our Latin as a single subject) maintaining their small numbers during these same years: 10-11-9-9-10. Although no figures are available for calls or candidates it is apparent from the late increase that there is, as in this country, a shortage of

teachers, or as phrased in one questionnaire from Ontario, "For the former [Latin alone] there is no outlet to amount to anything. In the other two [Latin-English, Latin-French] there are plenty of outlets."

² "The Seventeen Thousand Teaching Positions in Ohio," by Earl W. Anderson, Bureau of Educational Research, Ohio State University, 935.

³ It is possible also that some struggling schools, having finally given up Latin entirely even in combination, thereby cause the proportion of combination teachers wanted to drop slightly compared to the demand for the single subject. But this would not explain the single subject increase, and the numerical proportion involved would be so small compared to combinations desired as not to warrant serious consideration.

Ed. Note: The Committee on Educational Policies suggests that this report be brought to the attention of high-school and college advisors. Extra copies will be available shortly from the Secretary-Treasurer of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Saint Louis University, 15 Grand Blvd., St. Louis 3, Missouri.

FORTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING
CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH
CINCINNATI, OHIO, APRIL 18, 19, 20, 1946
CONVENTION CENTER: HOTEL SINTON

PROGRAM

THURSDAY, APRIL 18, 9:00 A.M., REGISTRATION, LOBBY (FIRST FLOOR)
9:00 A.M., MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
GUILD ROOM, MEZZANINE FLOOR

THURSDAY, 10:00 A.M., ROOKWOOD ROOM

President EUGENE TAVENNER, Presiding

J. B. TICHENER, Ohio State University, "An Approach to Horace"

ANNABEL HORN, Wesleyan Conservatory, "Sir Walter and Latin"

BESSIE S. RATHBUN, Central High School, Omaha, Neb., "Books, Bibliophiles, and Barbarians"

JAMES A. KLEIST, St. Louis University, "A Note on St. Luke's Account of the Annunciation"

GRACE L. BEEDE, University of South Dakota, "Proverbs and Proverbial Expressions in Plautus"

THURSDAY, 2:00 P.M., ROOKWOOD ROOM

ESSIE HILL, Converse College, Presiding

DORRANCE S. WHITE, University of Iowa, "Our Press and Radio Public Relations"

(DISCUSSION introduced by HENRY C. MONTGOMERY, Miami University)

JOHN L. HELLER, University of Minnesota, "The Labyrinth, 'Troy Town,' and the *Lusus Troiae*"

CHARLES C. MIEROW, Carleton College, "Julius Caesar as a Man of Letters"

RUTH CARROLL, Pape School, Savannah, Georgia, "Post Mortem"

BRUNO MEINECKE, University of Michigan, "Permanent Aspects of Greek and Roman Medicine" (Illustrated)

THURSDAY, 4:30 P.M.

The Committee on Educational Policies will meet in the Colonial Room, Mezzanine Floor.

THURSDAY, 7:00 P.M.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION BANQUET (\$2.50 per plate)

(INFORMAL)

ROOKWOOD ROOM

B. L. ULLMAN, University of North Carolina, Presiding

Addresses of Welcome:

RAYMOND WALTERS, President, University of Cincinnati

CLAUDE V. COURTER, Superintendent of Schools, Cincinnati

Response for the Association:

WALTER R. AGARD, University of Wisconsin

A Musical Tetralogy:

BRUNO MEINECKE, University of Michigan

Souvenir de Forum Romanum

1. *Maestas Romana* 2. An Ode to Virgil 3. Nox 4. Lalage

Presidential Address:

EUGENE TAVENNER, Washington University, "Roman Religion and Roman Character"

FORTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING

FRIDAY, APRIL 19, 7:30 A.M., COFFEE SHOP

State Vice-Presidents will meet for breakfast, Secretary WILLIAM C. KORFMACHER, Presiding

FRIDAY, 9:00 A.M., ROOKWOOD ROOM

MARS M. WESTINGTON, Hanover College, Presiding

ALFRED C. SCHLESINGER, Oberlin College, "Can Tragedy Be Written Now?"

PANEL DISCUSSION ON "What Can We Learn from the Army Area and Language Study Program?"

The Panel: MARS M. WESTINGTON, Hanover College, Presiding

FRED S. DUNHAM, University of Michigan

CHAUNCEY E. FINCH, St. Louis University

HENRY M. GELSTON, Butler University

KARL K. HULLEY, University of Colorado

MARK E. HUTCHINSON, Cornell College

Discussion from the floor is invited.

FRIDAY, 12:15 P.M., BALLROOM, GROUND FLOOR

SUBSCRIPTION LUNCHEON (\$1.50)

FRANK H. COWLES, College of Wooster, Presiding

Greetings and suggestions for co-operative action from sister organizations will be read.

Latin songs will be sung, led by MARS WESTINGTON, Hanover College, BRUNO MEINECKE accompanying

FRIDAY, 2:00 P.M., ROOKWOOD ROOM

PANEL DISCUSSION ON "Planning for Postwar High-School Latin"

The Panel: JONAH W. D. SKILES, Northwestern State College, Natchitoches, La., Presiding

MRS. PAULINE EMERSON BURTON, Edward D. Libbey High School, Toledo, Ohio

MIMA MAXEY, University of Chicago

LENORE GEWEKE, Illinois State Normal University

WILLIAM R. HENNES, S.J., Loyola University

EDGAR A. MENK, Ball State Teachers' College

MRS. NELLIE PRICE ROSEBAUGH, Glenville High School, Cleveland

B. L. ULLMAN, University of North Carolina

Critics from the floor:

MARK E. HUTCHINSON, Cornell College

KATHRYN KIRTLEY, Senior High School, Owensboro, Kentucky

A. PELZER WAGENER, College of William and Mary

DORRANCE S. WHITE, State University of Iowa

FRIDAY, 4:30 P.M.

Tea, Taft Museum, 316 Pike Street

FRIDAY, 7:30 P.M., ROOKWOOD ROOM

GERTRUDE SMITH, University of Chicago, Presiding

HAROLD B. DUNKEL, University of Chicago, "Latin and the Curriculum"

WALTER R. AGARD, University of Wisconsin, "How to Enjoy Classical Culture" (Illustrated)

DAVID M. ROBINSON, Johns Hopkins University, "Greece and Italy—Today and Tomorrow" (Illustrated)

SATURDAY, APRIL 20, 9:00 A.M., ROOKWOOD ROOM

First Vice-President NELLIE ANGEL SMITH, West Tennessee State Teachers' College, Presiding

FRED S. DUNHAM, University of Michigan, "What Language Do You Speak?"

THOMAS S. DUNCAN, Washington University, "The *Herakles Mainomenos* of Euripides—an Interpretation"

RUTH DUNHAM, Mansfield High School, Mansfield, Ohio, "We Are Contemporaries of Epoch-Making Changes"

ARTHUR M. YOUNG, University of Akron, "Monastic Life in Greece" (Illustrated)

SATURDAY, 10:30 A.M., ROOKWOOD ROOM

BUSINESS SESSION, FORTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING

President EUGENE TAVENNER, Presiding

COMMITTEES

RESOLUTIONS

C. C. Mierow, Chairman
Pauline E. Burton
W. C. Korfmacher
H. J. Leon
Charlotte Ludlum
Gertrude Malz

NOMINATIONS

Grace L. Beede, Chairman
John L. Heller
Essie Hill
Annabel Horn
Norman B. Johnson
Dorrance S. White

ARRANGEMENTS

Sister Ann Marie, St. Ursula Academy; Miss M. Julia Bentley, Hughes High School; Miss Bess M. Bolan, Western Hills High School; Mrs. John L. Caskey, University of Cincinnati; Miss Clara Fink, Hughes High School; Mrs. Louise Foster, Terrace Park High School; Miss Ruth Grove, Withrow High School; Father Morris E. Henderson, S.J., Xavier University; Sister Mary Mildred, R. S. M., Our Mother of Mercy High School; Malcolm McGregor, University of Cincinnati; Miss Laura Riffe, Walnut Hills High School; Rodney P. Robinson, University of Cincinnati; Sister Rose Agnes, Our Lady of Cincinnati College; Miss Alma Stanton, Hillsdale School; Brother Gerard Sullivan, S.M., Purcell High School; Miss Alice Wilson, Walnut Hills High School; W. T. Semple, University of Cincinnati, Chairman.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

The Headquarters hotel for the Forty-Second Annual Meeting of The Classical Association of the Middle West and South is the HOTEL SINTON, Fourth and Vine Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Rates are as follows: Single, \$2.50, \$3.00, \$3.50, \$4.00.

Double, \$4.00, \$5.00, \$5.50, \$6.00; with twin beds, \$5.00, \$6.00, \$7.00

Other hotels in the immediate vicinity are:

Netherland Plaza Hotel, Fifth and Race Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio

Rates: \$3.50 up, single; \$6.00 up, double; \$6.50 up, twin beds

Hotel Gibson, Fourth and Walnut Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio

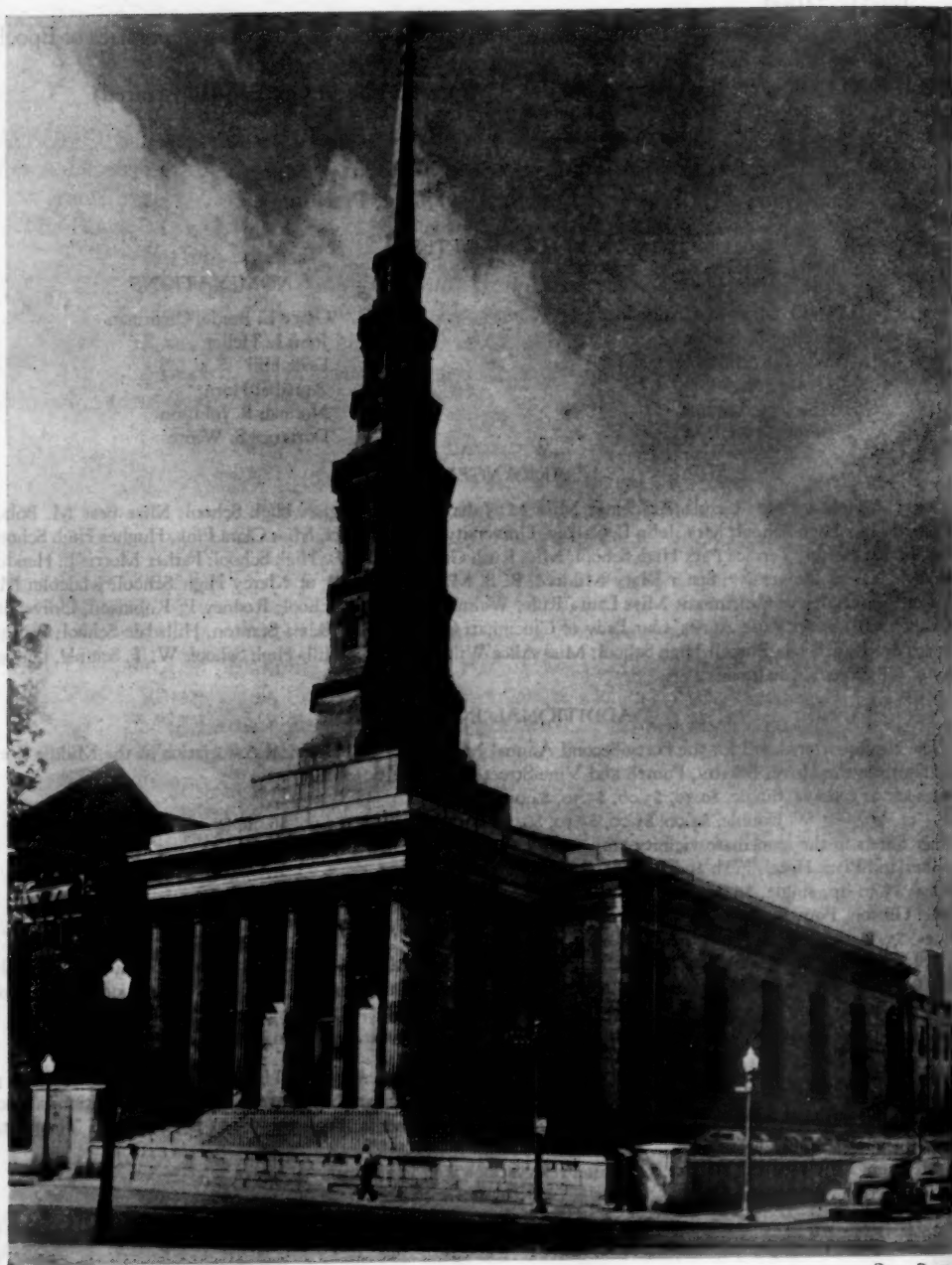
Rates: \$3.00 up, single; \$4.50 up, double; \$5.50 up, twin beds

All of these hotels in Cincinnati are in the downtown district. All may be reached from the Union Terminal by bus, Route U, which runs every six minutes from the Terminal to downtown Cincinnati; or by taxicab,—approximate fare \$1.00.

The Taft Museum is at 316 Pike Street, and may be reached by walking east on Fourth Street about six blocks.

MEMORANDUM: Owing to the need of making catering arrangements well in advance, members who plan to attend the banquet Thursday evening and the luncheon Friday noon are urged to send in their reservations as soon as possible to the Chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements, Professor W. T. Semple, 1202 Times Star Building, Cincinnati 2, Ohio.

Members are also urged to make their hotel reservations well in advance.



PAUL BRICK

ST. PETER'S IN CHAINS, CINCINNATI

CLASSICAL REVIVAL MONUMENTS IN CINCINNATI

By Henry C. Montgomery, Miami University

DURING THE past academic year Cincinnati was the meeting place for the joint sessions of the philological and archaeological groups in December, and in the spring it will again be host to another classical organization, the Classical Association of the Middle West and South. For such hospitality, offered when accommodations are difficult to secure, the members of all classical groups concerned are surely grateful. The name of the city has in itself classical connotations and Cincinnati, too, is built on seven (at least) hills.

Cincinnati is an old and interesting city. For decades in the early and middle years of the nineteenth century it was the largest inland city in the country. A great gateway city then, as now, Cincinnati was embellished with a number of classic revival architectural monuments of one of the truly significant periods of American architecture. Most of these structures have given way to newer and more extensive projects but a few remain that members of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South may wish to see some time during the spring convocation.

Directly east of the Hotel Sinton, and about a fifteen minute walk on Fourth Street, is the Taft Museum. The Museum, or house, was built for Martin Baum in 1820. It has a classic porch and has been ascribed, on scant evidence, to the great architect of portions of the nation's capitol, Benjamin Latrobe. The Taft house is more Renaissance, Adam to be exact, than directly of the revival type. Although Latrobe was not always the "bigoted Greek" that he wished to be, the Taft house scarcely fits in with his aspirations and other principal works. But the house is classic in its

symmetry and simplicity of external treatment—worth seeing, inside and out.

St. Peter in Chains

A MORE monumental and more classical structure is the Old Cathedral of St. Peter in Chains, located at Eighth and Plum Streets, easy walking distance from headquarters at the Sinton. St. Peter's is just over one hundred years old, the work of Henry Walter, principal architect for the Ohio state capitol building at Columbus. The church is large, measuring eighty feet by two hundred feet with an interior space of fifty-five feet from floor to ceiling. The spire, rising directly from the vestibule, is two hundred and twenty-one feet high. The porch of St. Peter's is distinctly classical, its classicism accentuated by the straight roof line and the placing of the Corinthian columns without bases. The outer walls, of Dayton limestone, are broken only by narrow window ledges and even the spire, although a Renaissance feature, is classic in treatment rather than Baroque in the usual manner of Christopher Wren and his successors.

The interior of St. Peter's is pure basilica type without clear-story lighting. The supporting columns, the half columns, the mouldings, and coffered ceiling are classic, but the altar is Baroque. The flanking angels of the altar piece are the work of Hiram Powers, sculptor of the famous nineteenth century work, the Greek Slave. In general the interior of St. Peter's conforms well to the fundamental form of the building, and a deliberate effort has been made to preserve this conformity.

Some features of the Old Cathedral of St.

Peter suggest King's Chapel in Boston, or St. Pancras in London, or St. Martin in the Fields of London. It is more distinctively itself than any of these. Talbot Hamlin considers it—with understatement in the opinion of this writer—one of the handsomest and most monumental of Greek Revival churches. Its location in Cincinnati is one allowing free play in a study of comparative architecture, since the church is bounded on the north by the Romanesque city building, on the east by a Gothic-Saracenic synagogue, and on the south by a standard commercial structure.

A Third Classical Monument

A THIRD monument, and more distant from the center of town, is the entrance to the old Cincinnati water works on Martin Street, not far from the Ohio River. The water works have long since been moved but the Roman entrance arch, the stone stairways, the retaining wall with three Roman or Hellenistic style heads in middle relief, are still part of an area now given over to park and recreation space. There is an air of classical authenticity to this detached grand entrance,

and the heads in relief with wavy, water-blown hair might well belong to a much earlier period. The arch itself starts from Martin Street at an angle, and a north-south axis is attained only when the steps reach the second level. This part of the design offers considerable technical difficulties, and points, together with the whole composition, to an architect of skill, knowledge of antiquity, and imagination, although at present his name is not known.

These remains of Cincinnati classic revival architecture, briefly sketched, appear secure from further disturbance. The Taft museum and St. Peter's are almost certain to remain untouched. The Martin Street entrance may be demolished when additional park developments are undertaken but it is in a section of Cincinnati now principally a part of the traffic system rather than a residential area. Each monument offered a different problem, hence each has received a different treatment, but all are so well done that they deserve visits of inspection, especially by members of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South.

—Loci Classici

THE CAMELOPARD

CAMELOPARDUS in Africa, in ludis circensibus Americanis, et in hortis publicis invenitur. Nomen "giraffe" lingua Arabica derivatum est. Romani camelopardum appellaverunt quod maculis similis pardo, collo similis camelo videbatur. Longissime omnium animalium collum protendit. Capite autem altissimo se fert ut ab cauda secundum dorsum usque ad aures clivus mirandus exhibeatur. Inter aures cornua vel bina vel quaterna, pelle inducta, quorum utilitas adhuc incognita est, videri possunt.

Valde erravit Plinius maior, senex carissimus quamquam loquacior, cum scripsit colorem eius rutilum esse maculis albis; re vera color ipse albus est vel paullulum ad rutilum vergens, maculis obscurioribus. Errant quoque qui scribunt crura anteriora longiora esse, quae re vera posterioribus paria sunt. Oculi

quidem spectatoris collo monstroso decipiuntur. Olim sine dubio collum eius breve fuit sed semper appetendo summas arbores longissimum gradatim factum est. Vertebrae autem numero non auctae sunt, modo cuiusque longitudine.

Negari vix potest camelopardum parum amicum ingeniosumque esse. "Nuces vobis," inquit pueri, simiis elephantisque dona porrigentes sed apud camelopardum tacent; foliis enim vescitur neque benignitatem humanam libenter accipit. Est modo quod aspectandum sit. Habetne igitur nihil quod nos doceat? Immo, nos monet ut semper ad res altiores contendamus. Nonne nostrum est, si animal mutum vertebrarum longitudinem augere potuit, semper appetendo virtutem nostram extendere?

Anon., *Liber Animalium*

BOOK REVIEWS

GREEK TEMPLES

GRINNELL, ISABEL HOOPES, *Greek Temples*: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (1943). Pp. xxi+60. \$7.50.

This handsome volume, splendidly printed and illustrated, with 54 pages of well-chosen photos of the present appearance, sculptural decorations, and architectural details of the most important Greek temples, should be a useful addition to any school or college library where the classics or the history of art is taught. Much of the material, both textual and illustrative, is only available in expensive publications with accompanying text in languages other than English. The binding, though made attractive by a photograph of the Parthenon by Saul Weinberg, is not, I am afraid, sturdy enough for a reference work.

Twenty-five temples have been selected, and each is usually illustrated by two plates and described in one to two pages of text; some restorations, and a plan of each temple, are also provided. Seventeen temples are from the Greek mainland, four from Asia Minor, and four from Sicily and Italy; nineteen are of the Doric Order, five of the Ionic, and one of the Corinthian. The arrangement is chronological: twenty date from the 7th century B.C. to the end of the 5th; four from the 4th; and one (the Olympieum at Athens), later. The treatment, however, is descriptive rather than historical; no attempt is made to trace the origin, development, or decline of temple architecture or the employment of the orders, although some material of this nature is presented in the discussion of the individual temples. Without developing the book into a history of Greek architecture it would seem that without undue expansion such a presentation would have made the book more useful. No attempt is made to include all varieties of the temple; for example, nothing is said of round temples. Practically all the temples discussed are well known because of their ancient fame, their good preservation, or the

beauty of their sculptures (one might have expected the Heraeum of Samos to be included); the description contains an account of the history of the temple, of the sculptural decoration, of the significance of the shrine in general, and a useful bibliography of the principal source-material for each temple. Dinsmoor's lectures and articles have been drawn on for the most recent views on such temples as those at Bassae and Acragas. The length and width of each temple are scrupulously given in both feet and meters, but would it not have been an aid to visualization as well as of comparative interest if some indication of the height of the building were furnished (where possible), as by giving the column height? No description is attempted of the landscaping of the immediate precinct of the temple in the few instances where that is possible; this is particularly obvious in the case of the Parthenon, whose surroundings have been so exhaustively and rewardingly investigated by G. P. Stevens in *Hesperia*, Supplement III, to which no reference is made, even in the Bibliography. Again we miss a reference in the Bibliography to Broneer's recent article on the pediment of the Old Athena Temple (*Hesperia* 8 [1939] pp. 91-100).

The text is preceded by a brief introduction (pp. xv-xxi) giving some account (with illustrations) of the general nature and purpose of a Greek temple, its construction, a description of the orders, and the necessary terminology. On p. xviii of this introduction the statement that "in the 5th century the entablature was usually a third of the column height" is true only for the Doric Order, and although the author no doubt had this in mind, yet the passage is presumably discussing the Greek temple in general. This is evidently due to the author's effort to be brief, an effort which has also resulted in what would surely be obscurity to the novice in such matters as

the corner triglyph problem and the "refinements," the latter of which, in my opinion, deserves a careful presentation if the student is to gain a just understanding of the beauty of the Parthenon. Incidentally, I cannot understand what is intended to be represented by the dashed lines in the sectional views of clamps (copied from Fowler and Wheeler, *Greek Archaeology*, p. 106) at the bottom of p. xvii; the convention for the cross-section of the adjacent blocks is also improperly rendered. On p. xv Delphi and Olympia are referred to as "cities."

A useful glossary of architectural terms is given on pp. 59-60. The "Key to Abbreviations" on p. 59 fails to explain the two Greek periodicals frequently referred to in the book, the *Ephemeris* and the *Praktika*. Misprints are rare; two bizarre instances are "Lisbon" for Libon on p. 25, and Proçylaia for Propylaia on p. 60. But all the above criticisms are of secondary importance in comparison with the very real usefulness and excellence of this attractive book.

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MYTH AND SOCIETY

LITTLE, M. G. ALAN, *Myth and Society in Attic Drama*: New York, Columbia University Press (1942). Pp. 95. \$1.50.

In this book Mr. Little has put his previous researches into the technical side of the Greek and Roman theatre to work in the light of a new general conception of the relation between the Greek and Roman theatre and the society which is expressed by it. This is what makes what he has done much more valuable than it might otherwise be. Not that the subject which is stressed in the title—Myth and Society—is not well treated, but, after all, the sum and substance of this treatment is largely covered by both of Thomson's recent *Aeschylus* studies—*The Social Origins of Greek Tragedy* and *Aeschylus in Athens*—and in part even by the much earlier Morgan's *Ancient Society*. Where Mr. Little's particular talent is apparent is in backing up, at every point, important generalizations about myth, the theatre, and Attic society, by excellently chosen and documented examples from the technical side of the theatre which, for this reviewer at least, were usually much more illustrative than anything he has previously seen cited. They are mostly concentrated in the chapter entitled "Spectacle and Thought," although, since Mr. Little gives at least a bird's-eye view of all the Greek tragedies and comedies in historical order, there is a fair scattering of them throughout the book.

Mr. Little's main thesis may roughly be expressed as follows: The persistence of the same myths throughout the history of Greek tragedy in the hands of the three masters, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, obscures a constant shift in the symbolic value for the audience, which corresponds with shifts in the social background of that audience. Aeschylus is the first to secularize the myth—that is, he adapts symbols which had previously been valid mystically and religiously to the justification of a new society which had left tribalism behind and was evolving into the form of the city state. For Sophocles, the symbolism in the myth (often the same myth which Aeschylus had used) tends to emphasize, sympathetically, the aristocratic values, often mystical and non-logical, in the face of the overwhelming opposition of a new democratic and rationalist world. (It is thus that the author explains the *Antigone*.) For Euripides, the disunion and disintegration of the highly individualist democracy is reflected in the poet's bitter display of the contradictions and incongruities of the myth, to the form of which his dramatic craft still chains him. Aristophanes and the later bourgeois comedy of Menander are also handled in an acute and penetrating way.

It is very hard to say more about a book such as this, except that it is interesting and entertaining. There is no clear way to dis-

prove Mr. Little's whole theory, drawn from Pareto, about "residues" and "derivations" in Attic society and the drama. But, unfortunately, it seems to me neither do the examples produced do more than establish a fair argument. If I have a fault to find with Mr. Little, it is that he appears to me to believe that his entire sociological study rests on a far firmer basis than it does. In the first place, Pareto, whose position in our society is cheerfully compared by Mr. Little with that of Socrates (!) in fifth-century Athens, is not someone who can be referred to as "having proved" this or that. Nor is it true, as Mr. Little observes—or at least it is highly disputable—that "the sociological approach to Greek tragedy is more objective than the

literary." There is a kind of underlying complacency in the confidence with which the particular sociological hypothesis (it never is more, though the author consistently claims more for it) is produced, and the facts fitted to it. This is not to deny that the hypothesis looks sometimes probable, and is almost invariably interesting, nor that the facts are well fitted to it, but it does seem that Mr. Little might realize more often that he is not fitting his facts to a well-observed and certain phenomenon, but to one of the many plausible but unprovable theories of how all societies evolve and in this particular case, how the Attic evolved.

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AN ATTIC CEMETERY

KARO, GEORGE, *An Attic Cemetery, Excavations in the Kerameikos at Athens under Gustav Oberlaender and the Oberlaender Trust*: published by the Oberlaender Trust, Philadelphia, Pa. (1943). Pp. 45. Plates 38. \$2.50.

The former director of the German Archaeological Institute, George Karo, has given us a brief account of the most important results of the excavations of 1927-40 at the well-known cemetery near the Dipylon Gate made possible by the generosity of the German born and reared American millionaire Gustav Oberlaender, who died in 1936 and to whom the book is dedicated. For ten years the site with its exceedingly intricate stratigraphy was meticulously excavated under the supervision of Karl Kuebler, and the results, though far from being spectacular, fully justify the painstaking effort. The history of the cemetery through almost two millennia has been clarified and much light shed on various problems of chronology. The earliest graves are Submycenaean (from the 12th century B.C.); cremation appears first c. 1100 B.C., dominates the Protogeometric Period (c. 1100-950), then continues side by side with inhumation throughout antiquity. Here we have for the first time a carefully studied continuous series

of Geometric pottery from the Submycenaean to the beginning of the Orientalizing Period, and the chronology of the Early Attic pottery has also been illuminated and some fine specimens discovered. Numerous interesting observations are made relative to family lots and to grave monuments, which are traced from the great "Dipylon" vases of the 8th century, the Early Attic vases of the 7th, the tall stone monuments of the 6th, the curious dearth of monuments through most of the 5th, to the Dexileos and other fine stelae of the 4th, coming to an inglorious conclusion following the sumptuary decree of 317/6 B.C. in the plain squat "kioniskoi" which completely excluded sculptured funerary stelae until the 1st century B.C. The finest discovery from an artistic point of view is the late 5th century Ampharete stele at present in the Metropolitan Museum. The final chapter gives a few notes on buildings discovered or further investigated in the area, the Dipylon Gate, the Pompeion, and a Fountain House, and on the Oberlaender Museum built on the spot. The book is well printed, bound, and illustrated. Misprints are few, unfortunate slips being 420 B.C. for 430 B.C. (Funeral Speech of Pericles) on p. 24, and 500 B.C. for 500 A.D. on p. 36; in line 24 on p. 20 there is

some error in reference due apparently to an omitted illustration. On p. 19 a mid-sixth century relief is described as that of a "portly man holding, instead of the usual spear or sceptre, a staff with a curious crook, perhaps an emblem of civic rank"; but, unless the photograph (Pl. 18a) is deceptive, the man does hold a staff whose upper end terminates

sharply on a level with the thumb of the right hand, while above and apparently tucked under the left arm is a sword hilt, of sixth-century type, with blade projecting behind the man's back underneath his right elbow.

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GENERATION OF ANIMALS

ARISTOTLE, *Generation of Animals*, with an English Translation by A. L. Peck, "Loeb Classical Library": Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1943). Pp. lxxviii+608. \$2.50.

In my general editing of university publications I have seen both humanists and scientists make more or less serious mistakes in handling material that they could use only through the medium of translations. Sometimes the fault was their own, but occasionally errors were due to blemishes or inadequacies in their secondary sources. Scholars in other fields would consult the classics more frequently if renderings that took account of their needs were readily available. It seems almost paradoxical, therefore, that parts of Professor Peck's translation of the *De Generatione Animalium* may be better understood by the biologist than by the classicist. This edition will enable future historians of the subject of biology to give more than cursory attention to this important work.

Professor Peck must have remarkable gifts of persuasion, for he has won from the general editors of the series far more than the usual latitude for the elucidation of the text. There are 78 pages of introductory matter, and pages

562-93 are devoted to notes and appendices. A welcome innovation is an extremely helpful synopsis, which appears on pages lxxi-lxxv. Since biologists and philosophers, as well as classicists, will have occasion to consult this book, it seems regrettable that the fifteen main items in the synopsis were not drafted for service as running heads. Surely the increased usability of the translation with such headings would have warranted this deviation from the style of other volumes.

The author has gone to all lengths in an effort to solve the numerous problems of the text and to make his results dependable. The frequency of his cross references to other works of Aristotle indicates that he has searched for all collateral material in them. He has also discussed troublesome passages with friends versed in the classics and in biology.

As both a classicist and an editor I regard this translation as a model of its kind. The volume is so uniformly meritorious that I have not singled out any features for special mention. "Non est admirationi una arbor ubi eandem altitudinem tota silva surrexit" (Seneca).

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CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND

FORTIETH ANNUAL MEETING, MARCH 29, 30

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See THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL, February, 1946, page 218, for the Program.